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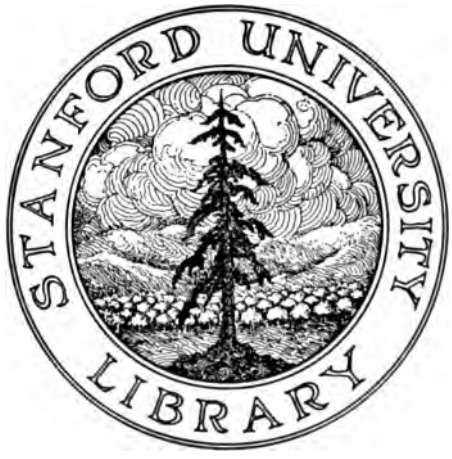
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LIFE AND TIMES

OF

HENRY GRATTAN.

VOL. II.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF THE

RT. HON. HENRY GRATTAN.

BY HIS SON,

HENRY GRATTAN, ESQ., M.P.

Non de Tyranno sed de cive, non de domino sed de Parente loquimur.
C. PLINIUS.

And you, brave Cobham! to the latest breath
Shall feel your ruling passion strong in death,
Such in these moments as in all the past,
"*Oh, save my country, Heaven!*" shall be your last.
POPE.

VOL. II.

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LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

HENRY GRATTAN.

CHAPTER I.

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peers against it.—Failure of the Earl of Buckinghamshire to get a similar Address in the Commons.—1780.—Lord Weymouth's letter to the Lord Lieutenant.—The King's directions to oppose any alteration in the Constitution.

An event now occurred which had well nigh involved the two countries in actual hostilities. A bold and public spirited citizen of Dublin—Alderman Horan—justly conceiving that an English law should not bind Ireland, unless re-enacted therein, determined to try the question, and ascertain if the Act of William III.* could prevent him from exporting his woollen merchandise to foreign countries. Accordingly, he tendered for export at the Custom-house some Irish woollen goods.

The Commissioners applied to Government,—and the Lord Lieutenant applied to England. The question of mere power and usurpation was now brought to the test, and it was to be tried whether the trade of millions was to be stopped by the law of another country, not enacted in Ireland. A British frigate was then off the coast, and would in all probability have detained the merchant ship; or, if resisted, would have fired into her. Thus, a repetition of the Boston violence

* In 1698, the English manufacturers had addressed King William, complaining that the Irish were applying themselves to the woollen manufactures, to the great prejudice of the trade of England; and they prayed that he would hinder the export of wool from Ireland, except it be sent to England. His reply was—"I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland."

and of resistance, as in America, appeared likely to occur. But, at this critical and momentous crisis, the wisdom and temper of the leaders among the popular party was successfully exerted. They moderated and controlled the indignant resentment of the people; thus preventing a convulsion in Ireland, and a war with Great Britain. Nothing further, therefore, was done in the matter; and the question was not brought to issue, but it served to arouse the attention of Lord Hillsborough, who had just succeeded Lord Weymouth as Secretary for the Home Department. Accordingly he addressed to Lord Buckingham a letter, somewhat in a tone of reproof, seeking to cast upon him blame for a neglect which was justly to be attributed to the government of Lord North; his attention had been repeatedly called to the situation of Ireland, by the motions made in Parliament; but he had evinced such a total disregard for her wants, as well as a singular ignorance of her state, that he declared in the House of Commons, "That the distress of Ireland was a child of the imagination; and except where laziness was attended by its never-failing companion—wretchedness—all in Ireland was a continued scene of abundance and festivity."

This had been the singular speech of the British Minister only a few sessions before; betraying such ignorance, indifference, and inattention, that it required almost a civil war on the part of Ire-

land to undeceive the Minister, and awaken the King.

The following are the official letters which passed on this subject.

THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE CUSTOMS TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We humbly beg leave to acquaint your Excellency that Mr. George L'Estrange, clerk to the collector of this port, having been summoned to attend the House of Commons on Saturday last, the 20th instant, during his absence, Alderman James Horan went to the office to tender an entry for a hundred yards of old drapery, made of Irish wool, and Irish manufacture, to be shipped on board the Sarah, Hans Madse Malle, for Rotterdam.

The objection to the passing this entry, as being contrary to the British Act of the 10th and 11th William III., and some arguments as to the propriety of the measure, being offered to Mr. Horan's consideration, he was dissuaded from insisting upon tendering his entry, which, however, he left in the office with the amount of the duty, until he should consult his friends; and on Monday morning last he went again to the Collector's Office, and told the collector's clerk that he would not at that time insist on the entry being passed, but that he did not mean to give up the point. It appears to us, that *this proceeding was not imagined solely by the Alderman, but that it was concerted* in order to bring forward the question how far the British law extends to the prohibition of the exportation of Irish manufacture to foreign countries; and as the matter may possibly be resumed, and it is a question of no

small importance to the state, we think it our duty to represent this transaction to your Excellency.

We are, &c.

Naas,
J. Beresford,
J. W. Mason,
Richard Townsend,
Clifden,
H. Langrishe,
Robert Walker.

Custom House, Dublin,
November 25, 1779.

The inability of the country at this period to bear any additional taxation, and the embarrassment of Government, are set forth in the account hereafter given by the Lord Lieutenant, who found himself unable to carry the measures contemplated, and was defeated in the House, upon the question of granting new taxes, when Mr. Grattan carried his motion by the extraordinary majority of 170 to 47.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, November 25, 1779.

My Lord,

It appearing impracticable for any Administration in the present disposition of the people and parliament of this kingdom, to carry the supplies for the support of his Majesty's Government in the usual mode for two years, two meetings of the confidential servants of the crown were held at Sir Richard Heron's apartments on the 20th and 21st instant, to take this important business into consideration.

The result of these deliberations was, that as it was evident Government would be supported by very few in opposing any amendment which might be made for limit-

ing those supplies to six months, it might tend to quiet the minds of the people, and prevent violence, if it was known this day, when the Committee of Supply is to sit, that Government would not urge the supplies being granted for two years. The Attorney-General officially moves the resolutions in the Committee of Supply, and it was thought right, that as it must be known Government would not insist that the supplies for the ordinary revenue should be granted for two years, Mr. Attorney General should move for six months only. I could not, however, as the Chancellor was detained by indisposition from these meetings, think myself warranted in consenting to so extraordinary and unprecedented a measure, without the most deliberate consideration; I therefore directed a meeting for this purpose to be held on Tuesday morning at my apartments in the castle, to which the following Government officers and confidential servants were summoned:—

The Primate	Lord Chief Justice Paterson
The Chancellor	Lord Chief Baron
Archbishop of Dublin	The Attorney-General
Archbishop of Cashel	Solicitor-General
The Provost	Mr. Clements
Secretary of State	Mr. Beresford
The Speaker	Mr. Foster, and
Lord Annaly	Mr. Mason.

The Provost and Mr. Beresford, who had attended the meeting at Sir Richard Heron's apartments, and approved these measures, were prevented from attending by illness. After the subject under consideration had been fully discussed, the meeting came to an unanimous resolution:—"That it being evident, should the supplies be proposed for the usual term, the question would be carried against Government by a great majority; and there being reason to apprehend the greatest violence might be shown against the supporters of Administration, in such a measure, it became

expedient and necessary to depart from the usual mode of proceeding, and adopt the plan herein-mentioned."

In consequence of this unanimous resolution, Sir Richard Heron in the House of Commons on Tuesday, communicated the plans of Government with regard to raising the supplies, and stated to the House that although it was his firm opinion it would be for the interest of Ireland to grant the supplies in the usual mode for two years, being very apprehensive that the departing from what had been the established practice might be attended with consequences which no man can foresee, yet in order to promote that moderation and temper in their proceedings which is necessary to carry the wishes of this kingdom for an extension of its commerce into execution, Government would yield to what seemed to be the general sense of the representatives of the people; that he hoped, however, while the supplies for the ordinary revenue were granted for six months, they would be made fully adequate to the public exigencies to that time, and that the duties for support of the Loan Fund, on which the credit of the nation so immediately depended, would be granted for the accustomed term of two years.

He then proceeded to communicate to the House the state of the revenues, and having represented that about 200,000*l.* would be wanted to clear the arrears on the establishments to Lady-day 1779, and 300,000*l.* to make good the estimated deficiency of the revenues from thence to the 24th of June next—in the whole 500,000*l.*—informed the House that Government would propose to establish two lotteries for raising part of this sum, and that the remainder should be raised in Exchequer Bills or Debentures. And in order to fund the new loan, which was proposed to be got in this mode, at little more than 4 per cent, and to make up the deficiency in the loan funds, amounting at present to

36,000*l.* annually, and with the new loan, to 56,000*l.* a year, he mentioned that the following taxes would be submitted to the House:—

1st.—An additional duty on all goods, except wine, imported after the rate of 6*l.* per cent.	24,000*l.*
2nd.—An additional duty on all wines imported at 4*l.* 6*s.* per ton.....	21,500*l.*
3rd.—An additional duty of 1*d.* per lb. on tobacco.....	15,000*l.*
4th.—An additional duty on all raw and untanned hides exported, of 1*s.* each.....	3,000*l.*
	63,500*l.*

As soon as Sir Richard Heron sat down, many gentlemen in opposition stated their objections to the proposals of Government in the strongest manner.

They thought, anticipating the deficiency June next, granting so large a sum as 500,000*l.* and voting the loan duties for two years, entirely defeated every purpose they proposed by limiting the bill for the revenues at large to six months; and the idea of any new tax at all at this time was very much objected to. It was said that the period for the consideration of such measures could not be until after Christmas, when the resolutions of the British Parliament could be known, and then it should appear that they would not be behind-hand in generosity to Great Britain for the concessions she should make. After a long conversation, Mr. Foster, who in the opening of the debate had defended the new taxes with great ability, finding that he met with little support, proposed to the House, as from himself merely, this compromise, that Government should relinquish its demand of 500,000*l.* and give up the idea of any new taxes, upon consideration that opposition would provide for the arrears to the 29th of September, amount-

ing to about 300,000*l.* and grant the loan duties for the usual term of two years.

But Sir Richard Heron, not thinking himself warranted in giving up a plan which had been so fully considered, declined accepting the terms without taking some time to consider so important a measure. After some further conversation with regard to granting the loan duties for two years, the justice and necessity of which the Attorney-General showed in the most convincing manner, the House adjourned.

I immediately ordered a meeting at my apartments for yesterday morning, at which were present,

The Primate,	The Attorney General,
The Chancellor,	Solicitor General,
Archbishop of Dublin,	Mr. Clements,
Archbishop of Cashel,	Mr. Burton,
Lord Annaly,	Mr. Beresford,
L. Chief Justice Paterson,	and
Lord Chief Baron,	Mr. Foster.

I mentioned at this meeting my opinion that it would be right for me to propose and urge the new taxes, which was approved of by all except Mr. Foster, who thought the not proposing new taxes would conciliate the minds of the people, and Mr. Burton, who thought the country unable to bear them. This resolution being known, Mr. Grattan, as soon as the House met yesterday, moved, That the House do resolve, "*That at this time it would be inexpedient to grant new taxes,*" which was immediately opposed by Sir Richard Heron, who was supported by the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Sir Henry Cavendish, and Mr. Mason, but after a long debate, the question was carried in the affirmative,

Ayes 170, Noes 47.

I thought it absolutely necessary to divide the House

upon this question; and although Lord Shannon and the greatest part of his friends, Lord Ely's friends, and Sir Robert Deane and his friends, supported Sir Richard Heron, no more than forty-nine remained with him in the House in support of Government.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 26, 1779.

MY LORD,

Yesterday the House resolved itself into the committee of supply, and upon the Attorney General's proposing that the duties for the support of the loan fund should be granted for the usual term of two years, an amendment was proposed to shorten the duration of them to six months. This produced a very warm debate, which lasted until eleven o'clock, when the House divided, and the amendment was carried,

Ayes 138, Noes 100.

Mr. Conolly opposed the amendment with great firmness; he expressed the strongest disapprobation of some exceptionable expressions which fell from the Prime Sergeant* yesterday, and from Mr. Grattan upon a former debate, and he reminded the Prime Sergeant that he was a servant of the Crown. This occasioned some personal altercation between them. The Attorney-General, as usual, opposed the amendment with great ability, and Mr. Clements, Mr. Burton, Sir Hercules Langrishe, Mr. Sergeant Fitzgerald, and several other gentlemen, spoke in support of the original motion.

The only gentlemen, immediate servants of the Crown,

* Mr. Hussey Burgh.

that opposed Government, were the Prime Sergeant, who, it is reported to me, defended the amendment *to the utmost of his abilities and with great violence;* and the Provost, who considering this as comprised within his instructions from Cork to vote for a short money bill, though ill in his bed, instructed his son, Mr. Hutchinson, one of the Commissioners of Imprest Accounts, to declare to the House his approbation of the amendment in the most decided manner.

The Duke of Leinster's friends supported the amendment.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

It is worth while now to refer to the measures adopted in England in the course of this year, 1779.

On the 11th of May, the Marquis of Rockingham, in the House of Lords, had moved an Address to his Majesty, for papers regarding Ireland, which motion, after some slight alteration, was passed. In the month of June, Lord Shelburne moved an Address to the King, respecting Ireland, but was unsuccessful.

In November, when the Parliament met, his Majesty in his Speech stated, that he had ordered papers regarding Ireland to be laid before the House, so as to enable them to pursue measures tending to the wealth and commerce of both kingdoms. This brought on a debate, in which Lord North and the Ministers were severely censured, and particularly by Lord Camden.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Fox said, that the administration must yield to the demands of Ireland in part or in the whole, or must resist them altogether. If they meant to grant the whole of their demands, (which he wanted them to do,) they should do it instantly, and without hesitation, though even their readiest compliance would not now be considered as a concession. The refusal of the more reasonable demands of Ireland in the last Session, and the loud voice now raised in that country, would sufficiently mark it with the stamp of necessity.

In December, the subject was renewed by Lord Shelburne, who complained of the conduct of Ministers, stating they had abdicated the Government;—that the people had assumed the powers of the State;—and the volunteers were warranted in their proceedings by every principle of the constitution. He then moved a censure upon the Minister for having neglected to take measures for the relief of Ireland, and thereby endangering the connexion between the two kingdoms:—this motion was rejected.

On the 6th, a similar motion was made in the Commons, by the Earl of Upper Ossory. Lord North defended his conduct, and enumerated the benefits conferred on Ireland, viz. allowing a free exportation of beef and butter to England; encouraging the trade to Newfoundland; the cod, and Southern fisheries; and allowing Ireland to

export woollens, in order to clothe the troops on the Irish establishment serving abroad. The motion was supported by Mr. Fox, but was lost by 100 to 173.

At length, on the 13th, Lord North brought forward three propositions, for the export of glass, the export of woollen goods, and for a free trade with the British colonies in America, the West Indies, and the settlements in Africa, subject to such limitations, restrictions, and duties, as the Parliament of Ireland should impose. These resolutions were adopted.

On the 20th of December, Mr. Foster proposed, in the Irish House of Commons, two resolutions; —1st. That the exportation of its woollen and other manufactures would tend to relieve Ireland. 2dly. That liberty to trade with the colonies in America and the West Indies, and the settlements in Africa, would be productive of great commercial benefits. These resolutions were unanimously adopted by the House, and were incorporated into the British Act which passed in the February of the ensuing year, and which allowed the trade of Ireland to be carried on in like manner as that with Great Britain.

Mr. Foster, whose name is here alluded to, was a remarkable personage in Irish history. He came into Parliament at the close of the reign of George the Second. He was a useful public man, and a man of business, conversant with the affairs

of Ireland, and well acquainted with her trade; he was not indisposed to the interests of his country, and generally supported them; though at an early period of his life, he had attached himself to the Government, and his connexion with the Court had led him to support their measures often with more zeal than patriotism. He feared the question of independence, and he supported the Mutiny Bill. At first he opposed the amendment on free trade, but afterwards brought forward the resolutions that constituted the English Bill in favour of Ireland. On the subject of the Corn-laws he was of great use. In that respect he followed Lord Pery, the father of Irish agriculture.

On the question of the commercial propositions in 1785 Foster acted well. Those that he prepared were good; they were drawn up on an extensive scale, and showed an enlarged and capacious mind, and did him great honour. They were such as would have highly benefited his country.

In 1784, Foster was chosen Chancellor of the Exchequer, and brought home to Ireland that office which before was held by an absentee. In 1795 he was applied to, under Lord Fitzwilliam's administration, and was consulted, in preference to Mr. Beresford, or any other members of the preceding Government; for although Lord Fitzwilliam's party knew that he was not enamoured of public liberty, they placed reliance upon his

knowledge, and his attachment to the interests of Ireland; and the reason they sent for him was, that although he had been a courtier, they knew he was an Irishman, while others were the abject slaves of the British minister.

At the head of the revenue department was Mr. Beresford, a sharp and quick-minded man, but devoid of public principle, and who, along with Lord Clare, introduced a policy quite new, and till then unpractised, and one that no man of spirit or principle would have resorted to;—this was, always to support England against Ireland. This policy had not been resorted to by Malone, or Pery, or Flood. It was a base and mischievous policy, certain to lower the individual, and sink the nation; and the worst part of this new system was, that it gave birth to a hungry class of men—individuals with large hands and open mouths, who grasped at every thing, and then reviled the country that fed them; men of no principle, little talent, and much cunning, who would not have been tolerated in any country but Ireland.

As a successor to Mr. Pery, (the Speaker,) in September, 1785, Mr. Foster appeared under considerable disadvantage. The regulations he made as to the galleries were considered arbitrary and partial. The galleries had been of use. The House of Commons is the property of the people, and they attend to observe the conduct of their representatives. In Ireland they applauded the

patriot, but did not pay much attention to the courtier. When Mr. Burgh put a period to his official existence, by the splendid declaration he made in favour of the liberties of his country, the galleries applauded. In 1782, when Mr. Grattan asserted their liberties, they again applauded; and their cheers animated the patriot, though they displeased the courtier. Mr. Foster took in the gallery; he limited the space, and the weight of the people, and gave it to the followers of the castle: this was a public injury.

With regard to the Catholics Mr. Foster was uniformly hostile; and, at the period of the insurrection, it is to be regretted that he did not listen to counsels more humane, and that he was influenced by others of an unrelenting and persecuting spirit. However, on the question of the Secret Committees, in 1798, it must be admitted, that where allusion was made to Mr. Grattan in the examination of the witnesses, Foster acted well; he took care that his sentiments should be known; and, subsequently, he stated, that he took no part in drawing up the report; that "Lord Clare had behaved ill, and *that it was a business of spleen and party.*"

On the subject of the Union, Foster proved himself an Irishman. It might have told better for his fame, though fruitless to his country, if he had refused to put the question.

After 1800, Foster appeared in the English

Parliament. He succeeded Mr. Corry, and was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and First Lord of the Treasury under Mr. Pitt.

At the Union, Foster could have obtained almost anything he desired; he might have made great terms for himself, and have got rid of all his incumbrances; but he declined to do so, and preferred public to private fortune.

> Abstinuit *tactu pater*, aversusque refugit
> *Fœda ministeria.*

He avoided the ignominious task, and scorned to *cheat Ireland for England.* And most fortunate it was that he favoured her at that crisis; for if he had been hostile, he might have injured her interests greatly. The statement he made of her trade was excellent, and his speech on that occasion was incomparable and unanswerable. But *there* his journey should have ended;—that should have been his *utmost sail.* His resurrection was inglorious. The chair of the Irish House of Commons, that he for some time adorned, and so nobly defended, should have been his tomb. He made a brilliant set in Ireland, *and should have descended amidst the rays of his country's glory.*

Government were now beginning to feel the effects of their mistaken policy in regard to Ireland. Involved in a colonial and a continental war, they found it difficult to prevent supplies of provisions from being transmitted to the enemy. The distresses of Ireland had driven men to avail

themselves of every means to repair their heavy losses; and the extent and unprotected state of the coast facilitated so greatly the opportunity of evasion, that it could with difficulty be guarded against. The Governments of both kingdoms issued proclamations against the export of supplies and provisions; but still they were sent by circuitous channels, and in many instances were supposed to have reached the enemy.

In his letter to the Viceroy, the British minister reproved him for his statement respecting Ireland, in regard to these proceedings, which he termed "*a dissolution of all government;*" forgetting that his own measures had been the cause of the evil; but very careful, at the same time, that his opposition to all constitutional measures of redress should be clearly understood. He found support for this part of his policy in the House of Commons; and Mr. Conolly, a leading character in the country, interposed with his authority and influence, to restrain the rising spirit of the times. Mr. Conolly had been friendly to the extension of trade; but he was connected with English families of rank and distinction, and was thereby led, in some degree, to think that the firmest link of connexion between the two countries was dependence, not liberty. Mr. Conolly was not, however, devoid of good Irish feelings; he resided in the country; he lived among the people. The splendour of his establishment at Castletown, his liberal dispo-

sition, his entertainments and pursuits that were alike congenial to the habits and the taste of the gentry, together with the benevolence, the worth, the amiable mind and character of her who was his partner,* deservedly procured for him popularity, and gave him considerable weight in the councils of the State, and in the deliberations of the senate, so that he could influence, though he might not perhaps wisely or daringly advise. He feared the march of the people, and his mind was not prepared to throw off the yoke, nor yet ready for the constitutional advance which younger and more enthusiastic characters were desirous to accelerate. On the present occasion he was applied to by Government to interpose his authority; and he exerted himself on their behalf, as appears from the following letter:—

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, 17th February, 1780.

My Lord,

In my letter to your Lordship, of the 10th instant, I mentioned that Sir Richard Johnston had given notice he should move a question, as on yesterday, upon Poyning's

* This much esteemed person (Lady Louisa Conolly) was sister to the celebrated beauty Lady Sarah Napier, with whom George III. was said to have been deeply enamoured. They belonged to the house of Lennox, and resided much in Ireland, where they were not only admired but beloved, and from the highest in the court to the lowest in the cottage there prevailed but one feeling of regard towards the members of this worthy family; their charitable disposition left behind its highest praise—*si quæris monumentum, circumspice!*

law, and that Sir William Osborne had declared his intention to move a question upon that part of the British Act which restrained the import of glass into Ireland from any other country than Great Britain, but that it was apprehended their motions would not be made according to the notice.

Agreeable to that supposition, Sir Richard Johnston mentioned on Tuesday, that he should leave his motion relative to Poyning's law to another member of greater abilities, to propose on a future day.

And Sir William Osborne yesterday, when the house was thin, rose to postpone his motion relative to the British Glass Act, mentioning his hopes that the conduct of the British Parliament would make it unnecessary. Sir William contends that the above mentioned Act should be repealed, not in part but *in toto*.

Mr. Conolly, upon this, stood forward with great zeal, energy and firmness, declaring that all questions which had a tendency to prevent the perfect good understanding and union of the two kingdoms, ought to be postponed till the 1st of August. He added that at a time when we were contending with powerful enemies, *the minds of men were not sufficiently cool to undertake an alteration in the constitution;* that he did not doubt but that there were many points in which both the constitution of this and the mother country might be mended, but that times of peace were the proper ones for those purposes; that if such questions were proper in the present session, this was the time for bringing them forward, according to the notice which had been given to the House, and not *when addresses and instructions had been prepared in the country by those whom too many in the House endeavoured to inflame.*

Mr. Grattan followed Mr. Conolly, and said that this was the time for constitutional relief, when commercial relief

had been obtained, and that when Great Britain was at war, advantages for Ireland were to be looked for; but that it was necessary for members to wait for the opinion of their constituents, in all constitutional matters, and that no man should hazard the bringing on a constitutional question of such magnitude, without being assured that it was the general sense of the public. The House then adjourned till to day.

I shall hope to receive the act for carrying into execution the third resolution of the British House of Commons, before the Parliament here shall adjourn for the circuits, so as to found upon it such an address to his Majesty from both houses, as shall defeat the plan of opposition to obtain instructions, &c. And if that opportunity does not offer, I shall endeavour to find some other, for the House of Commons to express their disapprobation of such proceedings, and their attachment to Great Britain.

In the House of Lords, on Tuesday last, Lord Carysfort gave notice that he should bring on his motion for leave to bring in heads of a bill for regulating the army on Monday next, which will I apprehend be rejected with little difficulty; and the heads of the Nullum Tempus Bill went through the committee without opposition.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

LORD HILLSBOROUGH TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

St. James's, 22nd February, 1780.

MY LORD,

I have received the honour of your Excellency's despatch of the 17th instant, and at the same time under another cover an account of exports of provisions from the port of Cork from the month of September to the 14th of this month, together with copy of a letter from Mr. Davis to Sir Richard Heron.

The king sees with concern that any member of the House of Commons intends at so delicate and critical a time as this is, to agitate in Parliament *questions that may in their consequence interrupt the harmony and affection between Great Britain and Ireland,* which his Majesty wishes to strengthen and increase by every means in his power. I have the greatest pleasure in acquainting your Excellency that Mr. Conolly's zeal to co-operate with this desirable purpose, expressed with so much energy and firmness in the House of Commons, is very satisfactory and acceptable to his Majesty.

The Irish Trade Bill went through the Committee of the House of Lords this day, and two or three days more will enable me to transmit it to your Excellency as a British Act of Parliament, which I trust and hope will give complete satisfaction to the kingdom of Ireland; a few days will also enable me to return the Dissenters' Bill, as I understand it will pass the Council here without alteration. This Bill will give satisfaction to a considerable body of His Majesty's subjects, who on many accounts deserve his royal attention.

I think it almost impossible that the Bill intended to be brought in by Lord Carysfort, for regulating the army, should pass the House of Lords, as it cannot answer any good purpose whatever, and is big with the greatest mischiefs. What your Excellency mentions with regard to Sir William Osborne's wishes relative to the Glass Act, I will not fail to mention in the proper place, but rather fear it will be too late.

I am, &c.

HILLSBOROUGH.

It would be unjust to say that there was any want of gratitude for favours conferred, or indif

ference for concessions obtained, still less any national antipathy in the minds of the people of Ireland at this period; but the extension of trade and the repeal of the restrictive laws (like many other measures subsequently passed) came too late, and not till the country had gone through depths of misery; they were procured with so much difficulty, and after such obstinate political struggles, that those who were gainers almost considered themselves victors in a just war, rather than rivals in a civic contest—that they were indebted for success solely to their own virtue, and when the balance had been turned, it was after iron had been added to the gold by their imperious masters, and thrown into the scale to make it preponderate against the rights and liberties of their country; thus it was that apprehension of insecurity caused the volunteers to press for ulterior measures, instead of resting satisfied with commercial acquisitions.

Every effort was now made to signalize the event of passing the Free Trade Bill, which had received the royal assent in England in the month of February. Government circulated the Act throughout all parts of the country, and the civic authorities in Dublin issued orders for an illumination in honour of their success. The joy was general, but it was viewed very differently by the two contending parties—the ministers and the people. The former had been led by their

Attorney General, (Mr. Scott) to believe that Ireland would ask for nothing more, and would rest content with commercial acquisitions; Government accordingly flattered themselves with the hope that this would be a final measure, and give not merely general satisfaction, but would ensure silence and give future repose to Ireland. The sentiments of the Viceroy appear in the following letter; and the events that ensued will show how much he miscalculated.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, March 2, 1780.

My Lord,

Late on Tuesday night I received by Heslop, the messenger, the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 24th past, signifying that his Majesty had been pleased, on that day, to go in person to Parliament, to give his Royal Assent to an Act to allow the trade between Ireland and the British Colonies, &c., and enclosing to me twelve printed copies of the Act. This fresh instance of his Majesty's paternal regard to the welfare and interests of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom, claims from them the liveliest sentiments of gratitude, and it is with great pleasure I acquaint your Lordship, for his Majesty's information, that so soon yesterday as this event was made known to the House of Commons, it was received with the warmest and most cordial acknowledgments of his Majesty's goodness, with thanks to his ministers, and the most affectionate expression towards the parliament and people of Great Britain.

A resolution for an address to his Majesty, of which I herewith transmit a copy to your Lordship, was moved by

Mr. Daly, and seconded by Mr. Ogle, and unanimously agreed to by the House in the handsomest manner.

This day, a resolution for an address to his Majesty was moved in the House of Lords, by his Grace the Duke of Leinster, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship.

Lord Farnham seconded his Grace's motion with great zeal and propriety, when Lord Carysfort, after a long speech, in which his Lordship went through all the topics of opposition respecting the Constitution, moved to amend the resolution by expunging the words scored under, and declared his intention, if the address were carried in the form as presented to the House, that he should use the privilege of a Peer, and enter his Protest.

His Lordship was answered by the Duke of Leinster, Lord Desart, Lord Roden, Lord Annaly, and the Archbishop of Cashel, when Lord Mountmorris rose in support of the amendment, and declared his intention of joining in the protest. His Lordship was answered with great ability by the Lord Chancellor, and I should not do justice to the Duke of Leinster, who closed the debate, if I did not mention the very spirited manner in which his Grace exerted himself in support of the passage proposed to be expunged.

He said the words expressed his real sentiments; that the Addresses of the two Houses of Parliament, at the opening of the session, respected commerce only, and that Great Britain had done every thing for Ireland on that head, which was just and liberal. That with respect to constitutional questions, he was ready to meet them when they should be proposed. That he was of opinion some alterations which had been mentioned, alluding, as was supposed, to Poyning's law, would injure the constitution, but that he did not think this a proper time for agitating

such questions. *He said he had been long enough a slave to popularity, he had no idea of constitutional questions being forced by the bayonet,* nor could he approve of their being agitated in the assemblies of the city, whose proper subjects would be the improvement of the trade which had been granted to this kingdom. Upon the question being put, whether the paragraph should stand part of the resolution, the numbers were

Contents, below the bar	36
Not Contents in the house.....	5
Contents, with the proxies	46
Not Contents	8

Tellers, for the Contents, Lord Farnham.
For Non Contents, Lord Carysfort.

The Lords in the minority were, Lord Charlemont, Lord Arran, Lord Mountmorris, Lord Aylmer, and Lord Powerscourt,

The addresses are to be presented to me to-morrow, and shall be immediately despatched from hence by the English messenger.

I have taken particular care to make this Act as public as possible throughout this kingdom, but at the instance of the Lord Mayor of this city, the public rejoicings and illuminations intended to celebrate the arrival of this Act, were postponed to this evening, in order that they might be as general as possible.

I shall immediately communicate to His Majesty's confidential servants here what has been represented to your Lordship by the Chevalier de Pinto, the envoy from Portugal, respecting the duty upon wines from that kingdom, and will not fail to have the subject fully considered, before the House of Commons here goes into the Committee of Supply.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

The people of Ireland, though gratified by the acquisitions they had obtained, saw, however, that they had no security for their trade, and that a British law had passed in which they were taxed without their consent; for such was the tax on tea, which was complained of by Mr. Grattan, in the House of Commons; they knew that although a British Act might pass in their favour, yet the power which made that law could unmake it at pleasure; so they declared in their various resolutions adopted by county meetings, grand juries, and volunteer associations, that Ireland should be bound only by laws which she herself made; and they called for a modification of Poyning's law, and a repeal of the 6th George I., the Act which declared the dependency of Ireland.

Early in the ensuing session, Mr. Grattan gave notice, that he would move for a Declaration of Irish Rights. This measure alarmed the Castle, and every effort was made to stop the growth of popular feeling. The Government proceeded to canvass against the Declaration of Rights, and the repeal of Poyning's law. They tried the pliancy of the Lords, and here they found materials for their purpose. On the 1st March, the Duke of Leinster moved an address of thanks to the King for the Act which had just been passed in England, stating "that they would discourage and defeat every attempt which misguided men may make towards raising 'groundless jealousies'

in the minds of the people, and diverting their attention from commercial advantages;" and in debate several members severely commented upon the conduct of the people and the volunteers, and the proceedings at the county meetings. A motion was made to expunge the obnoxious paragraph, but was rejected by 46 to 8. A spirited Protest, however, was entered into, stating "that this paragraph, supported as it was by the Government party, tended to shake the sentiments of gratitude and affection, by manifesting to the people that their legal and temperate proceedings were beheld by Government with a jealous eye; and might create a suspicion, that those commercial advantages were held out with an intention to seduce them into a dereliction of their constitutional claims; and that if 'the *groundless jealousies*' meant the resolutions entered into in different parts of the kingdom, they conceived it was the undoubted right of the electors to instruct their representatives, and that this House could not, without violating the fundamental principles of the Constitution, interfere between the people and the House of Commons." This was signed by Charlemont, Moira, and five other Peers.

The King's answer to this address of the Lords re-echoed its sentiments, with the ill-timed addition, that their "just and proper declaration as to '*groundless jealousies*,' could not fail to be acceptable to his Majesty."

In the House of Commons, however, Government was not so successful. Mr. Foster having reported to the House that the King had given his assent to the Bill extending the Irish trade, Mr. Daly, on the 2nd of March, moved an address of thanks to his Majesty, merely "expressive of the grateful sense the House entertained of the liberal participation granted to the kingdom in the trade of Great Britain, and to assure his Majesty of the unshaken loyalty of his faithful Commons." Mr. Daly no further alluded to the volunteers than to say, that as they were not subject to the Government, such an army could not but be looked on with considerable jealousy.

The members who had supported the popular measures in the House of Commons received the thanks of the volunteers, of the corporations, and of various county and town meetings. Mr. Burgh, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Daly, Lord Charlemont, Mr. Grattan, and other members of Parliament, in their replies, availed themselves of the opportunity to communicate to the people a constitutional spirit, and an exhortation legally to persevere in their exertions to obtain their legitimate rights; so that the efforts on the part of the Government to suppress the popular feeling had an effect directly the reverse of that which was intended.

Mr. Grattan, having received the freedom of the Guild of Merchants for his conduct in Parliament, alluded in his reply to the proceedings

in the Lords, stated that "the late defiance thrown out to the subjects of this country, containing an indirect aspersion of their constitutional proceedings, and a weak effort to deter them from securing liberty, should incite you the more to insist on the two great measures you have in contemplation. I conceive these to be the ultimatum of Ireland."

These measures were, the modification of the law of Poynings, and securing the country against the illegal claims of the British Parliament; and accordingly he pledged himself to bring forward, after the recess, a declaration of the Rights of Ireland.

The view which his Majesty and the British minister took of these proceedings, and which was so unfavourable for the liberties of his Irish subjects, will be seen from the following letter of Lord Hillsborough to the Lord Lieutenant, where he intimates the commands of the King, to stop in Council the transmission of the measures proposed by the Commons. A proceeding of this sort, so unconstitutional, so harsh, and so tyrannical, fully justified the remark made by Lord Camden to Lord Charlemont, in 1782, when, comparing the situation of Ireland to that of America, he observed, that "America had been lost by bad governors, and the fate of Ireland might be similar."

LORD HILLSBOROUGH TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

St. James's, March 28, 1780.

My Lord,

I have the honour to enclose to your Excellency the King's answers to the addresses of both Houses of Parliament to his Majesty. These addresses, as I before mentioned to your Excellency, were both graciously received by the King; but you will easily observe, that the last paragraph of the Lords' address, which is so clear and explicit with regard to their intentions, has been particularly pleasing to his Majesty. I hope, however, the difference between the two addresses is a difference in style only, not in sentiment; but if I should be mistaken, and there should be *any latent design of making attacks upon the Constitution,* or any intention farther to delay the granting of the supplies in the usual manner, his Majesty and this country will surely have reason to complain, that they have been disappointed in the expectations they had a right to form, of a proper return for the great advantages granted to Ireland.

If this should be the case, the King, with the unanimous advice of his confidential servants, has commanded me to signify to your Excellency, that it is expected from you, that you do oppose and resist any such attacks in every stage of their progress, in order to prevent, if possible, *any propositions for innovations upon, or alterations in, the Constitution, from being transmitted to this country.*

I am, &c.

Hillsborough.

CHAPTER II.

Feelings of the various parties on the subject of the Declaration of Rights.—Mr. John Forbes.—His conduct and character.—Mr. Flood.—His conduct on this great question.—Anecdotes of him.—Mr. Grattan's conduct.—Attempts to dissuade him from moving the Declaration of Rights.—Application from Edmund Burke.—Lord Charlemont's proper conduct.—Dean Swift.—Vanessa's Bower.—Mr. Grattan retires to his uncle Marlay at Celbridge Abbey.—Description of the spot.—Verses upon it by Mr. Grattan.—His account of the motion.—Lord Lieutenant's letters of the 12th and 19th of April respecting Mr. Yelverton's motion on Poyning's Law; and Mr. Bushe's on the Mutiny Bill.—Mr. Grattan's resolutions declaring the rights of Ireland.—Skill of Mr. Burgh on that occasion.—Lord Lieutenant's letters of 20th and 21st April containing an account of the Debate.

The debates and discussions in a writ of Parliament, and the various proceedings connected with carrying the measure of free trade had given new life to the people; they began to awaken, and the country became, in some degree, roused to a sense of her situation; men at last thought they had a country; but the upper classes still remained cautious and timid. By the aid, however, of the patriotic party in Dublin, resolutions and addresses were circulated through the country. Mr. Grattan drew up several, and they were proposed at the respective meetings by the volunteers. The high principle and sentiment which

they breathed, the temperate and firm tone in which they spoke to the people, diffused a national spirit throughout all classes. Men now wondered at their former tameness and systematic depression; they, at length, dared to think they belonged to a nation, and that their country should be free.

When these virtuous sentiments had taken root and spread around, Mr. Grattan thought the season had arrived for bringing on the question of independence. But here he found all his party opposed to him. They all censured him for his rashness and imprudence. Messrs. Burgh, Daly, Ogle, Pery, and the Ponsonbys, were adverse: they could not be seduced, but they were mollified and afraid. Lord Charlemont, too, was *rather timid;* but he evinced a delicacy on the occasion which well became him, and for which he deserved great credit; for he did not, like the rest, seek to dissuade Mr. Grattan from bringing forward the question, he only recommended him to consider it well; he thought the measure too bold, and the country not yet ripe for it.

Mr. Fitzgibbon, though he had been friendly to free trade, was hostile to the question of independence. Some had offered to oppose the measure; many had yielded; and the Government had nearly softened them all; so that they would have remained satisfied with the measures the country had got; for they had gained great credit by them,

and they feared to risk their reputation, and put to sea again on such a stormy ocean.

The efforts of the Lord Lieutenant were strenuous; the orders from England imperative; "*obstare in limine*," was the principle to be adopted,—if necessary, to be acted on, and if an opening was afforded, to be enforced with every severity. The commands from St. James's, as the letters of the ministers show, were to resist every alteration in the constitution, and not even to transmit any such bills to England.

In the midst of this political chaos, one man remained unmoved, unterrified, undaunted — John Forbes;—he was stedfast and inflexible from first to last;—he stood by the principle throughout; and when the question came on, he delivered one of the best speeches on the occasion. This individual was incorruptible; he was one of the most amiable and estimable of men; mild and gentle in his nature and in his manners, but firm and honest of purpose. He was offered place, and he refused it. He supported all the questions regarding Irish freedom with great ability. He proposed the Place-Bill and the Pension-Bill. By the latter he limited the pensions to 80,000*l.*, and thereby restrained the extravagant proceedings of the Government, whose excesses had been very great, and who found themselves much straitened by this salutary measure. He served the people faithfully, and his name should

be prized by every lover of liberty. Late in life, Mr. Forbes accepted a situation in New Providence, though offered a more lucrative one at home by Lord Camden in 1796. But he preferred that, with lesser emolument, because it lay abroad, and he could not then be asked to act against his principles. He declined to accept any office in Ireland, although the only condition required was, that he should not sit or vote in Parliament.

Government now resorted to every engine that could influence, persuade, or allay. Mr. Flood, however, stood too high to make any terms with Government, or abandon such a question. His great name, his commanding position, and his splendid abilities, would of themselves have prevented him from making any compromise of the question of right; but he wanted boldness to support it manfully. When it came forward, he spoke for it, but it was in a subdued manner; he lamented the question had been brought on, and accused the proposer of precipitation; he said that the people ought to stop; that they had done the country great good, and that he would say something "*valedictory*" to the volunteers;—such was the expression, which, in fact, amounted to a civil way of sending them about their business.

At this time Mr. Flood held office, and was almost the last of the leaders of the party who appeared in the House in volunteer uniform.

His long habits of connexion with Government clogged his efforts, and office impeded his progress towards the people. He had partly gone over to the Government, although he did not stand in need of money, and he did not go over to the people, who stood in need of liberty. In short, he would neither sail with the people, nor plunge with the Government.

The rest of the party, too, were deterred, some by influence, others by threats, and many by offers and blandishments held out to them, of every kind and description,—title, place, and pension. At length, recourse was had to Edmund Burke: even he had been applied to; and he had written to Ireland, condemning these extremes, as they were called, and advising them to stop Mr. Grattan:—"*Will no one speak to this madman? Will no one stop this madman, Grattan?*"

Such were the feelings and expressions of Mr. Burke, who, though an Irishman, spoke in the phraseology of what he called his "*better and his adopted country!*" Such was the language applied to those who struggled for the liberties of their country!

All this was not very noble, though, perhaps, it may be considered natural; for Ireland had been so deeply injured, that men were afraid, if she took redress into her own hands, she would exceed the bounds of moderation, and then the overwhelming power of England would have

borne down upon her with unrelenting severity; —such had been the fears and such the opinions of men in former days, and in particular of Anthony Malone, whose prudence and foresight were remarkable and unerring. Mr. Grattan was then very young, and not connected with any Government; he knew the Lord Lieutenant very little, and was not long experienced in politics; he had not the practice of years, nor was he versed in the state mysteries of colonial diplomacy; he had no train of followers, or powerful family connexions, to influence the minister, or turn the balance in favour of the people, on a Parliamentary division; he stood single, and was not dependent upon either party. The Irish people, too, had been so often sold, and so often deceived, that they were naturally afraid, and knew not whom to trust. They did not place implicit credence in political miracles, or believe that even in a holy cause, and armed with the simplest weapons, any youth could go forth and overcome Goliath. Accordingly, his friends represented to him the danger of his undertaking; that he would risk all the country had gotten; that commerce had been obtained, large profits had been made, and that the mere *form* of liberty would never be wrested from England; that the result of his plan would be, to let loose an Irish army upon the country, and they would seek to resume all the forfeited lands. Such, in particu-

lar, were Mr. Fitzgibbon's apprehensions and forebodings.

These statements were plausible; and for men educated in provincial subjection, they were, in some degree, natural, though not excusable; evincing a timid disposition, and almost showing that men considered commerce as the substance, and liberty as the shadow. Finding, however, that they did not prevail, they resorted to Lord Pery, as a man in whose opinion the greatest confidence was placed; and he applied to Lord Charlemont to speak to Mr. Grattan, and persuade him to go no further in the business.

Such a step would have increased the difficulties of the case, for Mr. Grattan sat for the borough of which Lord Charlemont was the proprietor, and it would have been difficult to act against the request of his patron, supported as he then was by the opinion of the party, and of Mr. Grattan's personal friends; and if he was obliged to vacate his seat, he might not have found it easy to get another. But the delicate mind of Lord Charlemont, united with his national sentiments and his patriotic feelings, prevailed, and the application was not made. Mr. Grattan, however, having discovered the intention of making it, left Dublin to avoid importunities, and secluded himself at Celbridge Abbey. There he consulted his old friend and relation, Colonel Marlay, whose understanding was strong, and whose mind was not chained

down by the fetters which bound his countrymen, or narrowed by the habits of provincial education, but who possessed the spirit of a freeman and the directness of a soldier. By him Mr. Grattan was encouraged to go on; he was told that he was in the right, and that his friends were mistaken, and that he should not mind them; and as he himself has often said,—"Along the banks of that river, amid the groves and bowers of Swift and Vanessa, I grew convinced that I was right; arguments, unanswerable, came to my mind, and what I then prepared, confirmed me in my determination to persevere; a great spirit arose among the people, and the speech which I delivered afterwards in the House, communicated its fire and impelled them on; the country caught the flame, and it rapidly extended. I was supported by eighteen counties, by the grand jury addresses, and the resolutions of the volunteers. *I stood upon that ground, and was determined never to yield.* I brought on the question the 19th April, 1780.—*That was a great day for Ireland—that day gave her liberty!*"

Such were the sentiments that influenced him on this occasion—and such his expressions. This speech Mr. Grattan always considered to have been the best he ever delivered; far superior to any he subsequently made in England. Those who heard him on that occasion have assured me that it astonished the audience by its fire, its

rapidity, the elevated style, the commanding eloquence, and spirit-stirring subject; it was delivered with a great volume of voice, in a manner very effective, though very singular. "I was lost in admiration," said one of the auditors; "*he spoke as if inspired.*"

May such ever be the offspring of noble minds, and such the success of generous and virtuous efforts made in the cause of freedom and their country!

As allusion has been made to the place which at this period of his life Mr. Grattan was so fond of frequenting, it may not perhaps appear far-fetched or inappropriate to indulge in a few sentences on its description. The regard he entertained for its proprietor, (Colonel Marlay,) induced him frequently to visit this spot; and his attachment to the country, his love of rural scenery, often guided his steps thither, where he found his literary recollections revived, and the history of his country, associated with the name of Swift, whose Irish spirit he used to admire, though not his tory principles. These various impressions caused him to entertain a great attachment for the Abbey at Celbridge; its calm retirement — its green retreat—its lofty trees—its shady walks—the smooth and sloping banks of the Liffey—and, in particular, the Bower of Vanessa—seemed to have a peculiar charm, and to inspire him with a sentimental patriotism; it was situated on

a small island, formed by a branch of the river, below a picturesque narrow bridge, of Irish antiquity, which was overhung with ivy, and stretched its lofty arches across the water above that secluded spot. A mass of evergreens and laurel, mixed with yew and box-trees, and solemn cypress, shaded the place, and rendered it almost impervious to the rays of the sun; roses, jessamine, and honeysuckle, entwined the classic bower, and the green around was covered with flowers of all hues.

> The rathe primrose, that forsaken dies;
> The tufted crow-toe, and pale jessamine,
> The white pink, and the pansy freaked with jet;
> The glowing violet,—
> The musk rose, and the well-attir'd woodbine,—
> With cowslips wan, that hang the pensive head.

This was the favourite spot to which Mr. Grattan loved to retire; there he used to read, and compose, and meditate upon his country's wrongs—thinking upon the spirit of those who were no more, but who had left a hallowed influence around, and that undying love of liberty "which was, and is, and is to come." On the day that Ireland regained her freedom, he invoked the name of its ancient inhabitant, and at the commencement of his splendid speech he exclaims, "*Spirit of Molyneux! Spirit of Swift! your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation!*"

On the death of Colonel Marlay, the place descended to his brother, the Dean, afterwards Bishop of Clonfert. Some alterations having been made in the grounds, Mr. Grattan took umbrage at the sanctity of this spot being rudely invaded, and was said to have addressed the following remonstrance to the proprietor:

VANESSA'S BOWER TO DEAN MARLAY.

Oh, thou! too prompt at fickle fashion's call,
For the sloped bank to change the useful wall;
To break those clumps that in meet order stand,
Planted by ancient skill's exactest hand,
To mock the true old beauties of my isle
With the forced fiction of yon Gothic pile.
Oh, born like Swift to head this sylvan scene,
Like him to live a wit, and die a Dean!
Check *here*, at least, thy innovating haste,
Stop *here* at least thy fopperies of taste:
Know, more than beauty pleads for *this* retreat,
And sacred spirits guard my ivied seat.
Here the stern satirist and the witty maid
Talked pretty love, nor yet profaned the shade.
Nor think, dear Dean, you can protect too well
Shades which see nought, or, seeing, nought will tell.
Here too, his nobler leisure to attend,
Ierne's genius met her earliest friend,
Long ere she hoped to break her iron chain,
Or dreamt of Freedom's law, or Portland's reign.
Oh! spare those shades where our first poet sung;
Each vagrant bough with sacred wreaths is hung.
So may each new vicissitude of taste
Spare thy trim lawns nor leave thy flowers to waste.
May sportive statesmen hoe the walks you've made,
And more than mortal* beauty grace thy shade.

* This was almost realized on the visit of the Duchess of Rutland.

The following letters will show what steps the liberal party were taking on this occasion, and what the Government. They discover the real sentiments of the British minister and of the Viceroy, and how fixed their determination was to oppose every measure which could tend to relax the severity of the laws that bound the people of Ireland. That fatal style of characterising every effort of Ireland to procure freedom or equality, by the invidious terms of "*innovation*," "*revolution*," and "*rebellion*," impressed the minds of the people with feelings most unfavourable to British rule or government, and at a subsequent period of her history, drove men into the extremes they most deprecated, and into the ranks of the party they were least inclined to join.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, April 2, 1780.

My Lord,

I have this day received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 28th past, inclosing His Majesty's most gracious answers to the addresses of the two Houses of Parliament of this kingdom; which shall be communicated to them respectively upon their meeting next week, and cannot fail of giving the greatest satisfaction. From the time it was first apprehended that propositions for *innovations upon the constitution* of this country were under consideration, and intended to be attempted, I thought it my indispensable duty, and accordingly laid it down as my peculiar object, to exert every power of Government to

resist such a *dangerous attack;* and I flatter myself that no doubt can be entertained of my using every means, in every stage of its progress, to prevent any propositions of that sort from being transmitted to Great Britain.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, April 12, 1780.

MY LORD,

I am to acquaint your Lordship that yesterday Mr. Grattan gave notice in the House of Commons, that on Wednesday next he will move resolutions declaratory of the rights of Ireland. Upon which I shall only observe, that your Lordship may be assured that *every effort shall be exerted to resist this and every improper measure.*

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, April 14, 1780.

MY LORD,

Mr. Yelverton gave notice yesterday to the House of Commons, that he would on Monday se'nnight bring on the question respecting Poyning's Law, and the House having to-day entered into the business of the supply, the committee resolved that a supply be granted to His Majesty for eighteen months, from the 24th of June, 1780, to the 25th of December, 1781, inclusive.

They also came to the same resolutions as in the last session respecting the army, and to several resolutions for private grants, usually made in the committee of supply,

after which the committee adjourned to Monday next, to take into consideration the quantum of the supply to be granted to His Majesty. Some gentlemen, perhaps with a view to annual parliaments, pressed that the first resolution might be adjourned to Monday, but it being insisted that the committee should proceed to-day, their opposition was given up. As this resolution will bring back the supplies to the usual term of two years, it puts an end to the attempt of repeating the expedient of short money bills, or the idea of annual parliaments.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, April 19, 1780.

MY LORD,

After the report of the committee of supply had been received and agreed to yesterday in the House of Commons, which was not until near six o'clock, after which time no new business was expected, and the number which had been in the House considerably reduced, Mr. Bushe desired Sir Richard Heron would inform the House whether he proposed that such laws as remained upon the Statute Book of Great Britain, restraining the commerce of Ireland, should be enacted by the Irish Parliament. Sir Richard Heron mentioned he had not prepared, nor had any intention of bringing in, bills for that purpose. Mr. Bushe then moved for leave to bring in heads of a Bill to prohibit the exportation of rams, lambs, or sheep, alive. Also for leave to bring in heads of a Bill to prohibit the importation of wrought silks, Bengals, and stuffs mixed with silk, as also muslins and other calicoes, of the manufacture of Persia, China, or East India, except from Great Britain;—which being agreed to by the House, he moved

for leave to bring in heads of a Bill for the Punishment of Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better payment of the Army and their Quarters.

The Attorney-General opposed the motion; he said it was unexpected, and the House surprised; that this bill was of a very different nature from the other two he had mentioned,—that it included a question of the greatest magnitude,—that it interfered with his Majesty's power over the army, and as the agitation of it might produce the most fatal consequences, and a similar bill had been negatived in the House of Lords, he desired it might be withdrawn; to which a dissent appearing, he requested that at least it might be postponed; and that if it were pressed then, he should oppose it to the utmost of his power. Mr. Bushe persisted in his motion; upon which, Mr. Foster having remarked on the lateness of the hour, the thinness of the House, and the unexpected introduction of the motion, and many gentlemen having declared that they could not give it a negative, he put the question of adjournment.

This brought on a long debate, in which Mr. Foster's motion was supported with great spirit and zeal by the Attorney-General, Mr. Conolly, Mr. Beresford, and Mr. Toler, who were opposed by Mr. Bushe, Mr. Daly, and Mr. Hussey Burgh. Many other gentlemen spoke on the side of Government. On a division, the numbers for the adjournment were 65: Against it 52—Majority 13.

I think it my duty to observe to your lordship, that in the present temper and circumstances of the nation, many of the friends of Government, who have declared their apprehensions of the absolute necessity of such a measure, seem inclined to support this motion whenever it shall again be introduced; so that I am apprehensive the opposition which I shall most certainly make to it, will be ineffectual.

It was mentioned by some friends of Government, amongst whom was General Cuninghame, that it became absolutely necessary something should be settled on this subject, to prevent the danger which may arise from doubts in the army, and the disinclination in magistrates to enforce the Act of Mutiny, which some, it was alleged, had refused to do, and which your lordship will find, by Mr. Meredyth's letter of the 8th of April to Sir Stanier Porten, to have been the case; and it was said, that the most advisable manner would be by a short act, declaring that the British Act of Mutiny and Desertion should be an Irish law.

As this subject is of so very important a nature, both in its principles and consequences, I should deem myself unpardonable, were I to conceal from your lordship what appears to be the sense of gentlemen upon it; and even of many of those who are most zealous in the support of his Majesty's Government.

I shall on my part strictly adhere to what *I know to be the sense of his Majesty, and the sense of his Majesty's confidential servants, that all the opposition which can be given shall be made, in every stage of the progress upon this business.*

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

P. S.—I shall immediately summon a meeting to take into consideration the subject of Mr. Bushe's motion; the result of which meeting shall be immediately communicated to your lordship, and Mr. Bushe may probably be induced to defer any further proceedings until I hear from your lordship.

At length the day arrived—(the 19th of April, 1780)—that auspicious day for Ireland's fame—

when the most important question ever agitated in Ireland, or, indeed, ever proposed in any country, and which for 140 years had lain dormant, was brought forward by Mr. Grattan, who concluded a speech of nearly two hours, by the three following Resolutions,—the first of which was proposed from the Chair.

"Resolved,

"That His most excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to enact laws to bind Ireland.

"2. That the Crown of Ireland is and ought to be inseparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain.

"3. That Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably united under one sovereign, under the common and indissoluble ties of interest, loyalty, and freedom."

Mr. Grattan was seconded by Mr. Robert Stewart, father of the late Lord Castlereagh, and was strongly opposed by Mr. Scott, the Attorney-General (who moved an adjournment of the question till the 1st September next,) and by Mr. Foster, and Mr. Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, and Chancellor of Ireland. The latter attacked the volunteers for their resolutions and addresses, stating that they were a giddy faction, and that this was nothing but violence and clamour. Mr. Daly admitted the principle to the fullest extent,

and denied the right of England to legislate for Ireland; but he considered these Resolutions to be a challenge thrown out to that country.

Mr. Burgh said, he owed no favour to any Administration; he had rejected the offers they had made, and he would not embarrass them; but the voice of the people had gone forth, calling on their representatives to add permanency to the freedom of their constitution, and to give efficacy to the enlargement of their trade—which was the more necessary now, as England had assumed a superintending legislative power.

The Provost Hutchinson said, that the vote proposed involved the country in difficulties, and that it was admitted that English Acts of Parliament were of no force in Ireland; and so he had, as judge, charged both grand and petty juries. Magistrates, moreover, would not obey the law passed in England, even if a judge had given it in charge to them.

Mr. Flood wished to postpone the question, as the time of England's distress was an improper one at which to bring it forward. He urged, that by an appeal to her understanding, and by a well-timed stroke of Irish generosity, we might well obtain from her a measure declaratory of the rights of Ireland.

Mr. Forbes most ably supported Mr. Grattan, in one of the best speeches he ever pronounced.

Mr. Yelverton and Mr. Burgh spoke most eloquently in favour of the question, and the latter proposed an addition to the amendment, "that there being an equivalent resolution on the books to the one now moved, the same may for that reason be adjourned to the 1st September next."

This amendment perplexed the government, and obtained the support of Mr. Flood, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Fitzgibbon, and Mr. Metge; the Provost declaring that to negative this amendment, would be to negative the original proposition—a proceeding which the House would not agree to.

At length after fifteen hours' debate, the House divided,—ayes 97, noes 136. So that no question appeared upon the journals. The object of the government was to get an entry on the journals, adverse to the motion; and this was defeated, chiefly by the skill and management of Mr. Burgh, who exerted himself particularly on the occasion. Thus the House virtually pronounced a decided opinion in favour of the rights of Ireland, and refused to record on their journals any thing adverse thereto.

Thus ended a most memorable debate: its effect was quickly felt in the spirit it diffused; and the invisible virtue of that vote penetrated the inmost recesses of the island.

The subjoined account of the debate, &c. as given by the Lord Lieutenant, will not prove uninteresting.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, 20th April, 1780.

My Lord,

Mr. Grattan yesterday, agreeably to his notice, which I mentioned to your Lordship in my letter of the 12th inst., moved the first of the inclosed resolutions, when in pursuance of a determination of His Majesty's confidential servants, and other persons of consideration in this kingdom, at a meeting which I summoned for the purpose, the Attorney General moved that the consideration of the first motion might be adjourned to the 1st day of September next.

After a very long debate, in which a resolution of the 26th of July, 1641, had been mentioned amongst the reasons for the House not coming to the first resolution, Mr. Burgh moved that the motion of adjournment might be amended by adding the following words, "There being an equivalent resolution already upon the journals of the House."* As this amendment seemed likely to carry with it many gentlemen who were with Government, Mr. Foster, in order to change the ground, and get a question on which every friend might vote with us, proposed that the resolution alluded to, should be inserted by way of amendment,

* See Appendix to Vol. I. for this and other spirited proceedings of the Irish Parliament. The resolution referred to in the proposed amendment is as follows:—

"It is voted upon question, *nullo contradicente*, that the subjects of this His Majesty's kingdom are a free people, and to be governed only according to the common law of England, and the statutes made and established by Parliament in this kingdom of Ireland, and according to the lawful custom used in the same."—*Commons' Journals*, vol. 1st, 26th July, 1641, page 501.

and gave notice that he should not then object to the whole amendment.

Upon a division, Mr. Foster's motion was carried, 136 to 79. The division being over, it was proposed by Mr. Flood and the Provost, that the House should adjourn without coming to any resolution, the question being sufficiently agitated, and requiring no decision; and it being insisted that the subject might, although the question for postponing should be carried, be moved again in various shapes, and it being understood the question was not to be brought on again, and there being a certainty that our majority would be less upon any subsequent division, it was determined that the proceedings should be withdrawn without being entered on the journals; and the House was adjourned at half an hour past six this morning.

As I receive my accounts from gentlemen who are much fatigued, I must defer till the next packet giving your Lordship a particular account of this day's debate.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, April 21st, 1780.

MY LORD,

In the letter I had the honour of writing to your Lordship yesterday, I mentioned, that not having received the account of the debate of the preceding day and night, fully digested, I could not then inform your Lordship of it more particularly.

The first of the three resolutions which I enclosed to your Lordship,* was introduced by Mr. Grattan with very

* See p. 48.

great ability, and with great warmth and enthusiasm; omitting no argument which could artfully be suggested to stimulate the minds of those whom he thought in any degree disposed to adopt his measures, and he produced the Act of the 6th of King George the 1st, declaratory of the rights of Great Britain, as the most general attack upon the rights and liberties of this kingdom. He anticipated several arguments which he said he knew would be opposed to him, particularly the improbability that Great Britain would now relinquish an authority, whether justly or unjustly assumed, which had been exercised so many years. In answer to this, he produced the declaration of the Commissioners to America, which he said contained the terms proposed for reconciliation, in which not only the power of taxation was given up, and the freedom of internal legislature established, but also the power of the Parliament of Great Britain to bind America was renounced; and he added, that it could not be suspected that Great Britain would refuse the most loyal of subjects that justice, which was offered to those who had been declared in rebellion.—He was answered by the Attorney-General, who in an able and direct manner, asserted the legislative power of Great Britain, and that the titles of one-half of the landed property in Ireland depended upon British laws. He represented the fatal effects, if a doubt should be created of the security of the present possessors; and he observed, that no regard could be had by the courts of law, to a resolution of one part of the legislature. He enlarged upon the dispositions so recently proved, of His Majesty, his ministers, the Parliament, and the people of Great Britain, to promote the welfare of this kingdom; the late benefits so unanimously granted; and he observed, the reasonable expectation, that mutual interest and affection must now remove every article from which discontent or

suspicion can proceed; that not only every thing in fact, injurious to the interests of Ireland, is already done away, but unexpected marks of the greatest favour have been granted; that it was unnecessary, inexpedient, ungrateful, nay, dangerous in a high degree to this country, and injurious to Great Britain, to agitate the question. He then, agreeably to what had been determined, which I mentioned in my letter of yesterday, moved to adjourn the consideration of the motion to the 1st of September next.

The legislative power of Great Britain was not insisted upon by any other than the Attorney and Solicitor-General. The voice against it was so general, that those who might otherwise have stood up to support it, found themselves so few in number, that they thought it more prudent to confine themselves to the inexpediency and ill effect of any declaration upon this head.

Mr. Daly supported the motion for postponing, as did Mr. Foster, Mr. Conolly, Mr. Solicitor-General, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Toler, Mr. Fitzgibbon, Mr. Bushe, Mr. Mason, Sir Hercules Langrishe, and several others.—Mr. Burgh, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Brownlow, and Sir William Osborne, with many others, supported Mr. Grattan.

Many gentlemen declared their wishes that the subject had not been introduced, thinking it very inexpedient for the House to come to any resolution, although they considered Mr. Grattan's resolution as containing a truth to which they could not give a negative. Mr. Burgh, seeing that the question for postponing the consideration would be carried, moved the amendment which I mentioned in my last; which made so great an impression upon many gentlemen, that it appeared necessary to change the ground for a division, and Mr. Foster moved the amendment to it, which was carried; but before any question upon the

amendment so amended could be put, the compromise was proposed by Mr. Fitzgibbon to withdraw the whole; and the question of adjournment being moved by Mr. Burgh for that purpose, and pressed by Mr. Flood, and also by Mr. Daly, Mr. Bushe, and many gentlemen who before were inclined to postpone the consideration of the question, it was feared the majority might be diminished; so the whole business, and the attack of opposition, was defeated in the manner I related to your Lordship.

It is with the utmost concern I must acquaint your Lordship that although so many gentlemen expressed their concern that the subject had been introduced, *the sense of the House against the obligation of any statutes of the Parliament of Great Britain within this kingdom is represented to me to have been almost unanimous.*

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

CHAPTER III.

Feeling of the people respecting free trade.—Causes which led to the union of Catholic and Protestant.—The Lord Lieutenant to Lord North.—Question of sugar duties.—The King's name used against Ireland.—Resolutions of the volunteers.—Speech of Mr. Yelverton thereon.—His character.—Anecdotes of him.—His noble defence of Mr. Grattan in his absence.—New dilemma of the country.—The magistrates will not obey the English Mutiny Bill.—They release the prisoners under it.—Letters of the Lord Lieutenant of 8th and 22nd April.—Case of two deserters.—Lord Lieutenant's letter of 26th April.—Case of Hart the deserter.—Lord Lieutenant's letter of the 27th April.—Account of debate on Poyning's law and Yelverton's motion.

It may be a matter of surprise that a country situated as Ireland was at this period—a country physically weak—weak from her situation—weak from her divisions—could at this moment be so singularly united; and the more remarkable, because there were only two questions on which the country could agree;—freedom of trade, and freedom of legislation. Most fortunately, the subject first agitated was that of free trade,—which was the interest and gain of all parties,—Protestant, Catholic, and Presbyterian. The Protestants were glad to give the Catholic trade and

property, because it added to their own; they were gainers by the trade the Catholic was to carry on, and by which he could enrich the country and the Protestant. This could only excite rivalry, not jealousy, inasmuch as it set up neither party over the other.

But the question which followed and came immediately after, was less likely to unite the people. However, they soon perceived that a free constitution was necessary for a free trade; and Protestant, Presbyterian, and Catholic knew that, without it, their trade was at the mercy of England. The Catholic, therefore, supported it, because it assisted his commerce, and was likely to promote his political views. The Protestant remembered how severely his trade had, in past times, been injured, and knew it would be in vain to obtain commerce, if that commerce was once more to be left to the discretion of the English Parliament. Hence arose the union of parties, and that combination of sentiment which united the nation, and made it act as one man.

The justice of the apprehensions thus entertained, with regard to their commerce, was fully proved by the proceedings adopted on the part of the British Cabinet; for, no sooner was the free trade obtained by Ireland, than the British Minister sought to impose a duty of 1*l.* 8*s.* upon the principal export of the British islands (raw sugars); and so injurious was this proceeding re-

garded, even by his own Government in Ireland, and so likely to nullify the measure of concession which Ireland, by her address of October 1779, had thought she obtained, that the Lord Lieutenant found it necessary to write to England to remonstrate with the Minister, declaring that the measure of free trade would be of no avail, if this duty was imposed.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle April 2, 1780.

My Lord,

The accounts which reach me from every quarter, evidently demonstrate that unless the duty of 1*l.* 8*s.* (as stated by Sir Richard Heron) is allowed to be laid on British refined sugars, *the indulgence of trade to the West Indies will be esteemed by Ireland as nothing.*

I am not sufficiently versed in commercial regulations to form a complete judgment upon so important a measure. But it is of such consequence, and so immediate a decision is essential to the dispatch of our business, that I should not have thought myself justified in neglecting the most expeditious mode of submitting it to your consideration.

Your lordship is full well acquainted with the difficulty of finding taxes to answer a supply; you cannot, therefore, deem it unworthy your attention, whether, if this is not complied with, the Irish House of Commons will be induced to lay the duty upon Muscovado sugar, a resource upon which, according to our present plan of finance, we principally depend. Mr. Foster having wrote yesterday *in*

extenso to Sir Richard Heron upon this subject, renders it unnecessary for me to further expatiate.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

The ill-advised measure of Government, whereby the King in his answer to the address of the Lords had censured the conduct of the people, only confirmed them in the opinion that the tenure of their trade was most insecure, when at the outset of their efforts to obtain constitutional relief they were not merely censured, but condemned, and were met by the frowns of his Majesty, and the intrigues of his representative. The letters of the minister show these were not only the opinions of the Cabinet, but of the King himself, and his name was put forward to urge on the Lord Lieutenant to oppose the rights of his subjects.

But the people were not discouraged by the censure in the Lords, or their failure in the Commons. The same soul that could associate and improve, discipline and mortify itself, in a public cause, was not to be cheated out of its liberty by plausible words. They knew their right and felt their power, and the following resolutions were a proof of it.

At a meeting of the Liberty volunteers, April 24th, 1780, pursuant to notice, Major Samuel Andrews in the chair, the following resolutions were agreed to:—

Resolved, that the sincere and grateful thanks of this

corps be presented in the most public manner to the Right Honourable the Lords Carysfort, Irnham, Arran, Charlemont, Moira, Eyre, and Mountmorris, for their upright and spirited conduct on the 2nd day of March last.

That the sincere and grateful thanks of this corps be presented in the most public manner to Henry Grattan, Esq., and the ninety-eight worthy and faithful guardians of the people's rights, who supported his motion on Wednesday the 19th instant, "That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland (only), were competent to make laws for the government of this kingdom."

That we observe with astonishment and concern a late defiance, wherein the people are *unwarrantably charged with being misguided, raising groundless jealousies*, and diverting their attention from the commercial advantages recently held out.

That we do pledge ourselves, each man for himself and one to another, by every tie which can bind the citizen and soldier, to unite against the common enemy of our King and country, in support of an harmonious connection with Great Britain; in support of the constitutional rights of this kingdom; and in support of the ancient privileges of the legislature of Ireland.

The question of sugar duties was the one which put to the test the sincerity of the British Minister on the subject of free trade. The duty imposed by the Privy Council in England was such as to injure the sugar refineries of Ireland; and accordingly Sir Richard Johnson moved a re-committal of the bill, in which he was seconded by Mr. Grattan, and supported by Mr. Forbes, Mr. Brownlow, Mr. Bushe, the Provost, and even

Mr. Foster. The bill was re-committed by 130 to 85. Nevertheless, 12*s.* a cwt. was the duty imposed; which the merchants conceived to be wholly inadequate. Meetings accordingly were held in Dublin, and other parts of the country, and resolutions were passed pledging themselves not to consume or import that species of sugar.

Mr. Yelverton spoke most ably on this subject. The following is the only sketch that remains of his speech.

"Mr. Yelverton believed that many gentlemen mistook the notion of the freedom of trade granted to us by the English. It was to put the Irish on an equal footing, which this resolution came very far short of. [He then read an extract from the English act for granting a free trade.] You reject the benefit," said he, "which the English offer you—become traitors to yourselves, and enemies to the constitution. Ungrateful as this disposition was, one simple mode of calculation was applicable to every understanding. The English refiners had a drawback of 15*s.* 4*d.* on every hundred. There was an Irish duty of 12*s.*, which left a profit of 3*s.* 4½*d.* on every hundred. On all their second refines, they were allowed 6*s.* 8*d.* for exportation, which, if not exported, was retailed at that amount at home.

"I see," said he, "I am not attended to by the other side. But they are more earnestly bound to hear it, than all the splendid corruption which has eloquently flowed from that side in the course of many Sessions. We are going to add a duty of 5*s.* 6*d.* on raw sugars, and inadequate to every idea of equalization, only 5*s.* 10*d.* on the refined. Under these difficulties and disadvantages, is the Irish refiner left

to struggle. If you do no more for your country, transfer to England her free trade, and stand upon your old footing, by which the revenue of Ireland must feel a decrease of 50,000*l.* annually. Either impose a duty of 16*s.* 7½*d*, or leave the Irish as they were before. Let them be deprived of their local situation—let thirty-three sugar-houses fall to the ground—and send the manufacturers begging, rather than not indulge England in the power of underselling us! And yet," said he, "there is something due to the wishes of the people, because they begin to lose that confidence in their representatives, which has hitherto kept them within bounds.

"*Smothered discontents may break out into a new flame,* when the Parliament would not be sitting, nor a sufficient power in the country to oppose the indignation of an injured people. The merchants had this day met, and resolved, unless this resolution was done away, to enter into their old non-importation agreements, and concentrate their trade, to the advantage of their own country. He did not mention this as a threat, but would warn them of threatened ill-consequences. All our returns," he said, "were raw sugars from the colonies; we were deprived of the advantages of manufacturing that raw sugar; and all our exports would feel a ruin, in consequence, particularly our woollens. Derange one part of the system of trade, and you destroy the whole—you destroy all trade. He could not help remarking the prostituted use which had been made of the term, free trade. When we first received it, an intemperate burst of applause broke forth, like the extravagance of lunacy, or the giddy joy of a child. If a constitutional question was started, if grievances were represented, we were answered, you have got a free trade! If a declaration of our rights was demanded, we should be satisfied with a free trade! If a modification of an oppressive law was attempted, we were stunned with the exclamation, Oh, you

have got a free trade!—your free trade was food and raiment to you—it was the burthen of the Ministerial song —it was the *lullaby* which hushed your necessities to rest, and the *requiem* which was sung over the perturbed spirit of your departing poverty! *Every struggle for liberty was called sedition*—you were to meddle with nothing; but all were *misguided men,* who dared to think of or demand a restitution of the natural rights of their country. A free trade was thrown out as a bubble, and made to answer all the ends intended by those who never meant to grant you any. If some use be not made of this hour, we shall be entertained hereafter with ideal advantages, instead of solid benefits. The people will see too late that they have been amused with a plaything; and when they have lost it, will sit down like a child, and cry for all their folly has lost them. He adjured them, as they valued the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, as they valued all their hopes of future prosperity, as they valued ease, happiness, and independence,—by the memory of their sufferings, by their regard for the welfare of posterity, as they valued the political connection between both kingdoms, he adjured them once again, to take this matter into consideration, and save themselves from being handed down to future ages as the destroyers of the constitution."

Mr. Yelverton was a first-rate speaker—nearly the most powerful one in his day. His style was short and strong; he never wandered from his subject, either to the right or to the left. He was endowed with a masculine understanding, and saw the strong point of everything; but his fire was so ardent, that it quickly consumed the fuel which fed it. He was deficient in his tones and

manner, and he wanted taste; yet without these accomplishments, his speeches were superior, and even sublime orations. Unfortunately, nothing almost remains of them that could give a just idea of their excellence. The one spoken on the 25th of September, 1775, when he opposed sending 4,000 troops to America, and that on the 4th of August, 1778, in support of the Catholic Bill, in which he denounced the Penal Laws, contained fine constitutional principles, evinced a powerful intellect, and proved him to be a great man, possessed of a vigorous and comprehensive mind.

Unfortunately he was too fond of conviviality, and that not always in the most elevated society. He grew attached to a strange character who assumed the garb and air of a foreigner, and chose to call himself "*Achmet*," but who, in fact, was a *mere Irishman*, wearing a long beard, and pretending to be a Turk. Another individual with whom he associated was Mr. Anderson, a solicitor. These persons and their companions took him too much away from his public and graver duties. As their patron was liberal, they obliged him by taking his money, and laughing at his jokes in return; and he liked their society, not because he could not make a fitting display in better, but because he was there freed from the necessity of making any. His fault was indolence: like Proteus, he loved to lie at ease in his cave; but when pressed and fairly brought into action—when roused, and induced to apply his

mind to a subject, he was not only very fine, but superior almost to any man of the day. He had a great volume of voice, a rich flow of ideas, a rapid imagination, and an austere pathos. His speeches were not observations upon detached subjects, but a regular continued flow of legal reasoning.

When Yelverton warmed upon a subject, his mind and his eye fired. He did not illumine his speech by brilliant figures, like Burgh, or adorn it with pointed sentences, like Flood (who was a master of the art of oratory); but he came forth with a style of reasoning that charmed and astonished, and that struck the listener as the finest species of ratiocination. Mr. Grattan compared him, and well, to the rolling of the Atlantic wave, three thousand miles in depth.*

His early speeches and his law arguments were incomparable. When he spoke his best, he was better than any man; but he was uncertain, and he was always for putting off questions. He was afraid of Independence in 1780, and he delayed the question of Poyning's law in 1781. He was, in fact, almost afraid to bring forward any motion. He had interviews with Lord Buckingham and Mr. Eden; the Castle people got about him, and expostulated with him, and he suffered his ardour to cool; so that instead of the question on Poyning's

* Speech in 1805, on the Roman Catholic question.

law in December, 1781, he proposed an Address of Condolence on the capture of Lord Cornwallis, and the loss of the British army in America.

Yelverton was not a good House of Commons man, nor was he an active member of parliament. Burgh was in that respect his superior. He did not speak much in parliament, and had no ambition to excel there. But when he lighted up, and let himself out, nothing could be finer. His dignity and loftiness of mind were very striking. He had the strongest and clearest manner, which made the hearer forget his general defects—his accents and his taste. Take him from his subject, and he was ordinary; give him a question, and time to prepare himself upon it, and he was everything. His knowledge of law gave his mind a regulated turn, and gained him an advantage over all the rest. He was better than Daly or Burgh, and would have been better than Flood, and have excelled him in argument, though not in satire. He was, in fact, superior to all the men of his time, not excepting Anthony Malone.

Flood had taken from Yelverton the question of Poyning's law, and had made a motion upon the subject, knowing that Yelverton had undertaken to urge that particular question. Yelverton feared an attack, and did not press upon Flood, as he dreaded his satire. He used to say that he would be placed upon the bench, and that it was better he should not ascend it soiled by the abuse of any

individual. He never had accepted office from any of the governments of the day; but on the death of Hussey Burgh, he succeeded him as Chief Baron of the Exchequer. He was probably the best advocate of the age; and though, perhaps, he was not so deeply versed in law as other men, he was, however, considered to be a good criminal judge.

Yelverton may not have been so profound a lawyer as Lord Mansfield, but *he was a greater man.* Lord Mansfield could not have stood before him for five minutes; he would have sunk him to the earth. Lord Annaly, who was not a bad judge of talent, and certainly not partial to Yelverton, used to say he was the best advocate he ever heard in either country—better than Malone,—better than Burgh. He carried away the Court, the hearers, the jury; all were lost while listening to him. He spoke with inspiration—a concatenated eloquence.

Yelverton supported Mr. Grattan on the great questions of Free Trade and Independence; on the Six Months' Money Bill; the vote against New Taxes; the Mutiny Bill; and the repeal of Poyning's Law. He began well, but concluded ill. He wanted judgment; he lost himself at the Union; tarnished the lustre of his early day, and left no record behind, except his part in that worst of transactions. He always feared England, and dreaded her power and her violence.

Although on this question his conduct was to be deplored, yet it must be said it was the early impression of his mind. At the period of the Regency, he had expressed himself somewhat in favour of such a measure; and said he wished some final settlement to be adopted. But at the period of 1782 no one would have dared to mention the word "Union." He might have been spoken to by Mr. Lees, or Mr. Ogilvie, as he was intimate at the Castle; but never openly. He had, on this subject, sad visitations of conscience, and on one occasion afterwards, when in company with some friends, he was defending the Union, one of them gently took him by the elbow, and exclaimed—"Ah! Yelverton, you were a patriot in 1782!" Struck by the reproach, he covered his face with his hands, and burst into tears.

In the case of Lord Edward Fitzgerald's children, Yelverton spoke before the Lords on the question of attainder. Lord Clare stopped him, and he had not courage to go on, and tell Lord Clare that he was mistaken in point of law. Curran, who was counsel in the case, went round to him, and told him that Lord Clare was wrong, and that if he looked into the books he would find it so; but he was awed by Lord Clare, who would not let him go through the evidence, and who was supported by Lord Enniskillen and the other Lords; and Yelverton yielded.

On another occasion, he argued before the

Lords, in an appeal against a judgment of Lord Clare's. The law of the case was quite erroneous, and Yelverton sought to reverse it. He wrote down not only the heads of the argument (which was his custom), but the whole of what he intended to say, and told one of his friends that he was determined not to go further, for he might be induced to go beyond what he wished; and Lord Clare would not spare his opponent, particularly in defence of his own judgment. When he went to the House, however, he far exceeded the limits he had prescribed to himself, and he delivered a most luminous speech. It was one of the last appeals the Irish House of Lords ever tried. Lord Clare got very violent, induced the Lords to agree with him, and thus upheld his decision.

On one occasion, Mr. Fitzgibbon had attacked Mr. Grattan, who was not then in the House. Mr. Yelverton defended him warmly, and replied to the charges:—"If my learned friend were present, the honourable gentleman would take some time to consider before he hazarded an encounter with his genius, his eloquence, and his integrity. My honourable friend did not provoke the attack, equally ungenerous and untrue, and for which no justification can be found in any part of his splendid career. The learned gentleman has stated what Mr. Grattan is; I will state what he is not; *he is not styed in his prejudices; he does not trample on the resuscitation of his country, or live*

like a caterpillar, on the decline of her prosperity; he does not stickle for the letter of the constitution with the affectation of a prude, and abandon its principles with the effrontery of a prostitute!!"

This severe and cutting reprimand was received by Mr. Fitzgibbon, without retort.

Affairs had now assumed a more serious aspect, arising from a circumstance wholly new to the public mind, and hitherto neither foreseen nor apprehended, namely, that there was no law nor mutiny-bill to govern the army (the validity of a British law being denied). The disbandment of the entire of the military force in Ireland might have been the consequence; and that this event did not take place, was attributable to the good disposition of the people, who were averse from encouraging a licentious and insubordinate spirit, and whose leaders maintained a steady and upright conduct, hostile alike to tyranny or convulsion.

The preservation from this danger cannot be attributed to the vigilance or discreet proceeding of the ministers in England, who, notwithstanding the mischief likely to follow even the public discussion of such a question, and of which they got timely information from the Lord Lieutenant, had, as yet, taken no effectual step to remedy the evil. There appears here an instance of retributive justice, of unseen and all-powerful dispensations; for the British Government felt themselves

checked by the very excess of their own tyranny, in past and troublous times, "*when what must be, not what is meet, was law,*" they had passed their Mutiny Bill, and now found it difficult and hazardous to enforce it, inasmuch as it was an English law, and they were too haughty and imperious to stoop to an Irish one. Such was the dilemma they were placed in.

Mr. Hutchinson declared in the House, that the British Mutiny Act was not binding in Ireland; other members said the same. Magistrates proceeded to release from prison the soldiers who deserted; so that, in fact, any regular army might have ceased to exist.

Upon this extraordinary emergency, application was made to the English ministers; but they were deaf to the repeated solicitations from Ireland, and *his Majesty's instructions commanded his ministers there,*—"*obstare in limine,*" and on no account to countenance or forward to England any Irish Bill to regulate their army.

SIR RICHARD HERON TO SIR STANIER PORTEN.

Dublin Castle, April 8, 1780.

SIR,

I am commanded by my Lord Lieutenant to acquaint you, for the information of the Earl of Hillsborough, that on the 6th of February last, Terence Magrath was committed by the Provost of Sligo to the gaol in that town, being charged upon oath, by Corporal More, of the 62nd regiment of foot, of being a deserter from his Majesty's 12th regiment of dragoons.

A route, dated the 16th of March last, signed by his Excellency, for transmitting Terence Magrath to the Provost Martial in Dublin, having been sent to Sligo, Captain Anthony Cliffe, of his Majesty's 4th regiment of horse, by letter dated the 21st day of March, signified to the Adjutant-General, that in consequence of an order signed by Joseph Meredith, Esq., one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County, directing the said gaoler to discharge the said Terence Magrath, if detained in the said gaol on no other charge but that of being a deserter from the 12th light dragoons, the prisoner had been discharged accordingly.

That Nicholas Staunton, a deserter from his Majesty's 32nd regiment of foot, having been committed in the month of December last, to the gaol of Castlebar, a route, dated the 18th past, was sent to Castlebar, for his being transmitted from thence, and delivered over to the commanding officer of that regiment at Youghall; Captain Purden of his Majesty's 4th regiment of horse, upon receipt of this route, by letter, dated at Castlebar, the 24th past, reported, that in pursuance of an order signed Neal O'Donnell, and dated the 11th of February last, directing the gaoler of the County of Mayo to discharge the said Nicholas Staunton, he having, as is therein set forth, surrendered himself to Mr. O'Donnell, before he was taken up, agreeably to the King's proclamation, bearing date the 22nd of January last, a month after the prisoner had been committed.

These proceedings of two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, appearing to his Excellency to be not only highly improper and illegal, but possibly intended, at this critical time, to lead to extensive mischief; and his Excellency being advised, that upon laying evidence of these facts before his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, these

gentlemen will be attached, without entering into consideration of the reasons assigned by them; and that they may very properly, in consequence thereof, be removed by the Lord Chancellor from the Commission of the Peace; his Excellency has ordered the Crown Solicitor to lay these matters before his Majesty's Attorney-General, and to proceed against the said Magistrates in such a manner as he shall direct.

I have the honour, &c.

RICHARD HERON.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, April 22, 1780.

MY LORD,

In the letter I had the honour of writing to your Lordship of the 19th instant, stating the motion in the House of Commons by Mr. Bushe, for leave to bring in heads of a Bill for punishment of Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better payment of the Army and their quarters, I mentioned that I should immediately summon a meeting of his Majesty's confidential servants to take into consideration this subject; I had accordingly, yesterday, a meeting of the Chancellor, the Speaker, the three Chief Judges, the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Mr. Foster, and General Cunningham, the command of the Army having devolved upon him in the absence of Sir John Irwine.

The subject appeared to them of the utmost moment, and rendered still more so by the general sentiments declared on Wednesday last, in the House of Commons, with the exception only of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, *that no laws but those enacted in this kingdom are obligatory in it.* Had this sentiment not already been taken up through many parts of the kingdom, these de-

clarations in the House of Commons would render it general; and it was strongly urged at this meeting, that few magistrates would be found, throughout the kingdom, who would enforce the Mutiny Act; that hardly any Jury, grand or petit, would take notice of it; and that so far as it is necessary for the protection of the officers, in keeping up the discipline of the army, by punishing offenders, it would not be admitted; and Juries would find indictments and verdicts against every officer who might be prosecuted for the inflicting Court-Martial sentences.

The legal validity of the law, your Lordship may well suppose, was not a question at this meeting; the improbability of its being executed was the general sentiment; and it seemed to be morally certain, that from the temper of the times, his Majesty's army would be effectually deprived of the powers, benefits, and protection it should afford.

Under these circumstances, the dangerous consequences which must ensue were too obvious; and though I shall certainly endeavour to prevent, as far as I can, the introduction of any Bill of the nature of that proposed by Mr. Bushe, and shall oppose it in every stage; yet I cannot avoid laying before your Lordship the general sense of this meeting, that I should particularly state to your Lordship the principle upon which this Bill may be supposed to be introduced in the most effectual manner *to enforce the independence of the Irish Legislature, and the incompetence of a British Act*, by shaking one; the non-obedience to which must lead to a total disbanding of the army; a law too, in which the king may think his prerogative, as well as the supremacy of the British Parliament, concerned. If therefore His Majesty shall think proper to give me any orders for my conduct as to the Parliament enacting laws heretofore passed, in which Ireland was intended to be bound, and in regard to this

mutiny law, a moment should not be lost in transmitting them to me.

It is my duty to represent to your Lordship such remedy as is suggested to me, to prevent the dangerous and fatal consequences which the idea of the supposed invalidity of the mutiny law must bring on. If the soldiers should begin to think it will be construed as not operating in respect of them, and should they find the country ready to protect them from the punishments of desertion, it is certainly to be presumed that they will desert in great numbers. And I feel myself bound to acquaint your Lordship, that it is the general sentiment of this meeting, that the only sure remedy is by enacting the British Mutiny Law in this Parliament, either in the whole, those parts being excepted which are applicable to Great Britain only, or by a short clause, enacting it in general, which latter mode is recommended.

Should the peculiar circumstances of the times, and this representation, induce His Majesty to think such a measure proper, I do earnestly entreat your Lordship may with all speed communicate his directions to me. I shall in the mean time take all the pains in my power to defer its being proposed in Parliament; but I cannot help expressing my fears, very strongly, that when it shall be moved there, very many gentlemen, who upon all other occasions have supported the Government, will be induced to vote for the Bill, alarmed by the ruinous consequences which their sentiments of the inefficacy of the present law will suggest to them; and its receiving the sanction of the House of Commons will too probably convince the military and the Irish nation generally of that supposed inefficacy.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, April 28, 1780.

My Lord,

I have the honour of inclosing herewith to your Lordship a newspaper, printed here yesterday, called the Public Register, or Freeman's Journal, containing in the last page a letter "To the Committee for conducting the Free Press," addressed "To the justices of the peace, and all other magistrates and civil officers throughout the kingdom of Ireland, &c." signed "Anti-Tyrannus." It is unnecessary for me to observe to your Lordship what a dangerous incitement to desertion such an audacious publication must prove in the minds of the soldiery of His Majesty's army in this kingdom, *amongst whom that crime is already prevalent to a very high degree,* and I have therefore appointed the Lord Chancellor, chief judges, Attorney and Solicitor-General, to meet to-morrow to consider what may be most proper to be done by Government thereupon.

The question respecting Poyning's Law being appointed for this day in the House, made it necessary to defer the meeting until to-morrow; I shall not fail apprising your Lordship, immediately after the meeting, with the measure which they shall think most advisable to be adopted.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Buckingham.

To the Committee for conducting the Free Press.

To the justices of the peace, and all other magistrates and civil officers, throughout the kingdom of Ireland.

Gentlemen,

As it is now a determined resolution of our House of Commons, and of all ranks of people in this kingdom, that

English statutes are of no force in this kingdom, I therefore think it my duty to warn you, at your perils, against paying any respect to the following advertisement, which seems fraught with private malice, and a palpable intent to *establish English tyranny in this kingdom:*

"Twenty guineas reward for apprehending a deserter.—Deserted from His Majesty's 2d Regiment of Horse, in Dublin, Dominick Hart, private, twenty-five years of age, five feet ten inches high, black hair, marked with the small pox, born at Main, county Longford.

"Whoever secures said deserter, shall, on application to the officer commanding the regiment in Dublin, receive twenty guineas reward; or any person writing an anonymous letter to said commanding officer, pointing out how he may be taken, shall receive the above reward, provided he be apprehended in consequence of such information; the money shall be left where, or paid to whom, the anonymous writer thinks proper, the strictest secrecy kept if required, and no questions asked."

As there is a respectable number of independent gentlemen determined to support the freedom and consequence of their country and fellow-subjects, they hereby inform the above magistrates, &c. that they will commence an action against any of them that detains the aforesaid Dominick Hart, and the said Hart is desired, if aggrieved, to apply, by letter or otherwise, to the printer hereof, who will direct him to those gentlemen who are determined to support him.

ANTI-TYRANNUS.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, April 29, 1778.

My Lord,

In my letter to your Lordship, dated yesterday, inclosing a newspaper containing a letter to the committee for conducting the Free Press; I acquainted your Lordship that I had appointed a meeting this day to take the same into consideration. Accordingly the Lord Chancellor, Lord Annaly, Lord Chief Justice Paterson, Lord Chief Baron, Mr. Attorney and Solicitor-General, assembled here this morning, and Hart, the deserter, mentioned in the said letter, having been apprehended, they were unanimously of opinion that it is *most advisable not to commence any prosecution* against the publisher of that newspaper, but to wait until it should be seen whether any attempt will be made as threatened by the advertisement.

I judged their decision to be the best rule for my conduct, especially as the subject at large is now before his Majesty and his ministers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Buckingham.

LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, 29th April, 1780.

My Lord,

The motion respecting Poyning's Law, which I mentioned to your Lordship in my letter of the 14th instant was to have been brought on upon Monday last, having been put off on account of the Attorney-General's illness, Mr. Yelverton moved yesterday, in the House of Commons, for leave to bring in Heads of a Bill to regulate the transmission of Bills to Great Britain.

In the speech with which he introduced his motion, after having fully stated the nature and history of Poyning's Act, and the explanatory statute of Philip and Mary, he mentioned, that the most material part of those laws which oppressed the Constitution of Ireland, was the power of the Irish Privy Council to alter and suppress Heads of Bills. That therefore, his Bill had only one object in view, which was to abolish that power.

Sir Richard Heron opposed the giving leave to bring in these Heads of a Bill, as the measure led to a great change in the Constitution, and upon the ground of the inexpediency of entering into such questions at the present time.

This produced a long debate, in which Mr. Yelverton's motion was opposed with great ability and spirit by Sir Hercules Langrishe, Mr. Toler, Mr. Sergeant Fitzgerald, and Mr. Browne. These gentlemen not only objected to the motion as inexpedient, but warmly asserted the right as exercised by the Privy Council; and I should not do justice to the Attorney-General, were I not to mention the very distinguished manner in which he is represented to have exerted himself *in supporting the present constitution of Ireland, in demonstrating the danger of innovation,* and in dissuading the House from any conduct tending to alienate the affections of Great Britain. He also exhorted them gratefully to support that British ministry which had procured such distinguished benefits to this country. Mr. Foster confined himself to the inexpediency of the time, which he pressed upon the House in the clearest and most convincing manner. The Provost also spoke against the motion, and said, that as on a former occasion he had opposed a motion of a similar tendency, merely on the principle of its not being necessary, he could not consistently but adopt the same conduct at a season when the marked discretion of the council did not invite such an

implied censure, and the circumstances of the times rendered it particularly inexpedient.

The gentlemen in opposition, who most distinguished themselves in the debate, were Mr. Ogle, Mr. Hussey Burgh, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Bushe, Mr. Flood, and Mr. Grattan.

The House divided about twelve o'clock, when the motion passed in the negative.

Ayes 105. Noes 130.

The majority of last night would have been far more considerable, *if many members under obligations to government had not very unexpectedly* DESERTED, *and several* INDEPENDENT *gentlemen acted contrary to assurances which might have been deemed binding.* Five or six were indispensably absent from illness.

It was strongly urged from different quarters, that the objecting to receive the proposition in the first instance, was a measure which might indispose some of those who would upon a fair discussion have rejected it. But even *if his Majesty's instructions had not commanded me obstare in limine,* I should have judged this measure adopted, more becoming the dignity of government, though it was generally deemed a very strong question.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

CHAPTER IV.

Mr. Grattan's Bill respecting Irish leases.—Precarious state of landed property.—Firmness and disinterestedness of Mr. Grattan.—His own account of this transaction.—His conduct to his own tenant.—The Mutiny Bill.—Obstinacy of Lord North.—Danger of the country in consequence.—The Lord Lieutenant to Lord Hillsborough.—Account of the Debate.—The same to the same.—Subject continued.—Straits of the Government in regard to Ireland.—Mr. Fox's opinion of a perpetual Mutiny Bill.—Mr. Bushe's speech on this subject.—His character.—Insidious motion of Mr. Foster relative to the Irish army.—Mr. Grattan's conduct on it.—Depression of the party.—Edmund Burke's opinion of the Irish Mutiny Bill.

On the 15th May, 1780, Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in the Heads of a Bill to remove doubts on the construction of leases, with covenants for perpetual renewal. Mr. Burgh and Mr. Foster supported, and Mr. Fitzgibbon opposed it; and the Bill was carried in the lower House by a majority of three only.

From the unsettled state of Ireland, the various confiscations and forfeitures, landed property had formerly been considered of comparatively little value; and in order to form a good tenantry, and

give encouragement to improve the land, this species of tenure was devised. It was said to have been introduced by the Ormond family, and a great proportion of the property of the country was held under it. On the fall of each life in the line, a fine was paid; and if the life was not substituted within a stated period, (three or six months) the interest became forfeited to the landlord.

In most cases, although this was not strictly complied with, the renewal was granted. A decision, however, of the English House of Lords, construing the covenants strictly, and upsetting what was called "the Irish equity," had shaken the whole of this property, and created great confusion throughout the kingdom. To remedy this evil, Mr. Grattan brought in the Bill above referred to. The aristocracy were opposed to it; and several of his most intimate friends requested him to delay the measure, that they might institute legal proceedings against their tenants, whereby they would have recovered large tracts of land. Mr. Grattan was, however, inexorable; he conceived it would be great injustice to comply with this request, and he urged on the measure; with a view not only to settle the minds of the tenantry, but to confirm them in their property.

Mr. Grattan's conduct on this occasion was the more remarkable, because in his own case a large property had in this way lapsed to him. As landlord, he received but 170*l.* per year; but if he

had taken legal proceedings, he might have possessed himself of 1200*l.*; yet such was his sense of justice, that no inducement of his friends, nor temptation in his own case, could persuade him to swerve from what he conceived to be just.

His own account of this transaction was interesting:—"I remember I brought in the Bill, and settled the question as to these leases, which the decision of the English House of Lords had shaken, and created great confusion in Ireland. I think Burgh was the means of getting the Bill passed, not by his speaking, but by his *not* speaking. He was going to speak, but Lord Pery, who had a quick eye, told him the question would be lost, that the Government members were determined to defeat the measure. Burgh, in consequence of this, did not speak. The question was put, and we carried it by a majority of three.* If Burgh had insisted on going on, Ogle and others, who had large properties depending on this question, would have returned and thrown out the Bill, and the Irish aristocracy would have ruined the lower orders."

Such was the account which Mr. Grattan gave of the public part he took in this matter. That which he observed in his private capacity, with respect to his tenant, was not less remarkable, and affords a proof of his disinterestedness and his disregard for money. "I deserve," said he, "some

* In the Lords it passed only by a majority of one.

credit for what I did then. I was poor, and I had in the county of Westmeath an estate under this tenure, that produced about 170*l.* a-year. On the death of my father, it was said to be worth 800*l.* a-year, and, at the period I speak of, it was worth more, probably 1200*l.* a-year; but I would not avail myself of the English decision and take this property, although the tenancy was forfeited. The tenant came to me to get the lease renewed. She was a little old lady, in a green riding-habit, and a black beaver hat, and a large steel buckle fastening her belt. I had been out in the fields, and came in cold and wet, and I sat down by the fire to warm myself, and to avoid laughing at so comical a figure. *I gave her the renewal, and I took* 80*l.* *"fine,"* (*I think it was*) *instead of* 1,200*l.* *a-year.* She did not seem to give me much credit for what I was doing, and as I was signing the deed, *she looked at me very suspiciously, and said, 'I hope, Sir, you and this other gentleman* (the attorney) *will not cheat me, as I am a poor lone woman.'* She then proceeded to pay me, and her mode of payment was singular; she gave me three bills for this sum of 80*l.* at six, and twelve, and eighteen months."*

The important subject of the Mutiny Bill continued to occupy the attention of the Governments in England and Ireland. The directions from the

* The granddaughter of the individual here mentioned, is married to Mr. Trevor, Viscount Dungannon, and member of Parliament for the town of Durham.

British cabinet to stifle this measure, excited just apprehensions in the mind of the Lord Lieutenant. He submitted the case to the Irish Privy Council, who were of opinion that the peace and safety of the kingdom depended on the measure. This decision was forwarded to the British minister; but Lord North remained deaf to every suggestion or solicitation on the subject, and refused to listen to the voice of justice, of reason, or even of prudence.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, May 8, 1780.

My Lord,

After the success which had attended my anxious endeavours in resisting the questions introduced by Mr. Grattan and Mr. Yelverton, as well as in the progress of the Money Bills, I might have flattered myself that the remainder of the session would have passed in tranquillity, and that gratitude and good sense would have stifled any further efforts of opposition, had not the idea of introducing an Irish Mutiny Bill produced a melancholy conviction that my expectations were ill founded.

My not having as yet received any letter from your Lordship upon the subject is more embarrassing to me, as my dispatches of the 22nd of April stated an intention of deferring the consideration, if possible, till you had favoured me with an answer. Either determining the rule for my conduct, was a matter which claimed consideration, or it was not; in the latter case, the return of the post would naturally have expressed those sentiments, and referred me to my general instructions; and in the former case, the intelligence received from England of the indispo-

sition of the Lord Chancellor, whose assistance the cabinet would particularly require upon a decision in every light so peculiarly delicate and important, accounts very clearly, to my apprehension, for your Lordship's silence.

As Mr. Bushe's motion was to come on this day, and by your Lordship's silence I considered myself bound to adhere to the conduct I had stated in my dispatch of the 22nd past, I summoned a meeting of the principal servants of the crown, and other leading gentlemen, for the purpose of consulting them upon the mode of deferring the agitation of this business till I could hear from England, and also to receive generally their sentiments upon the measure.

The Primate, the Chancellor, the Archbishop of Dublin, Archbishop of Cashel, Duke of Leinster, Lord Annaly, Lord Chief Baron, the Speaker, the Provost, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the Earl of Shannon, Earl of Tyrone, Earl of Ely, Mr. Flood, Mr. Foster, Mr. Beresford, Mr. Clements, Mr. Burton, and Sir Robert Deane, were present at the meeting.

The Speaker, the Provost, Mr. Foster, Duke of Leinster, Lord Annaly, and the Lord Chief Baron, all signified in express terms, their opinion that a Mutiny Bill to be enacted here, or something adequate, was absolutely necessary for the peace and safety of the kingdom; that the British Mutiny Bill *being only a dead letter while no magistrate would execute it*, the kingdom was in effect without a mutiny law, and every officer who should act under it would be exposed to indictments and prosecutions. Those who were members of the House of Commons severally asserted, that the Bill would certainly pass that House by a very great majority; that no efforts to defeat its introduction there could be in any sort effectual; that the best friends to government in proportion to their property

and consequence, must be prevented from opposing it by the terrors of all the mischiefs which presented themselves if no army should remain, or that army be subject to no effectual law. The Archbishop of Cashel alone expressed his disapprobation of any delay, insisting that the Bill was not necessary, and ought to be resisted. *My determination of opposing it*, unless I should receive instructions to the contrary, was clearly and repeatedly signified.

The Speaker and the Lord Chief Baron (Lord Shannon's particular friend), urged strongly the not dividing against the Bill, as it would expose the steady friends of Government to public censure, and weaken their ability of being useful in other instances. The Speaker was most particularly eager upon the subject, as was Mr. Foster, who declared his opinion most strongly, that a division against introducing the Bill was a measure that could not meet with success, and he alleges that it would alienate from Government the good wishes of many gentlemen, and weaken the future ability of every man appearing in such a division, not only to support this, but every future administration, so long as his vote on that occasion should be remembered; it was, therefore, determined to propose putting off the consideration of the question for a fortnight, which time was fixed on as the most likely to be agreed to by the House, and also to allow sufficient time for me to write to your Lordship and receive an answer.

I should add, that some respectable persons not present at that meeting have said, to apologise for their intention of not supporting me in opposing the Bill, "*We have resisted popular questions, and exposed ourselves to the indignation of the people at large, by supporting Government;* but who is to defend us against their resentment, if the army, from the doubts now circulated, should be dissolved?"

Mr. Bushe accordingly moved for leave to bring in heads of a Bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the regulation of the army, the consideration of which Sir Richard Heron moved to postpone for a fortnight, to Monday the 22nd, and the motion for postponing was carried at nine o'clock, by 146 to 75.

In the course of the debate, there was an almost universal declaration, from all sides of the House, of the necessity of some Bill to prevent the mischief that threatened. Many who supported the motion, avowed their intentions of supporting the Bill on a future day, and the majority was solely owing to the wishes of gentlemen to give every reasonable time to administration for considering the necessity of the measure. Some gentlemen declared that they *would not, as jurors, magistrates, or in any other capacity, suffer the British Mutiny Law to be enforced,* and the whole tenor of the debate leaves no room to doubt that few inferior magistrates will dare, if they were so disposed, as they are not, to act under that Mutiny Law; and that whether the opinion of its having no validity here, is well or ill founded, in the minds of individuals the effect will be the same; that the gentlemen most zealous for his Majesty's service are determined to support the Bill, and that an opposition to it would certainly rekindle that flame which was happily much abated, and might even expire if not supplied with fresh materials. The greatness of the majority, with the certain expectation of the Bill being introduced on the 22nd, will allay the fervor of gentlemen till that time.

The impossibility of any effectual effort against it in the House of Commons is beyond a doubt. The dangerous consequences which must ensue, from its being rejected elsewhere, when supported and deemed necessary by the voice of the Commons, are too glaring to be minutely

mentioned. And on the other hand, your Lordship will consider the fair prospect which there is of preserving the tranquillity of the kingdom, unless it should be disturbed by this question.

There is no option left with respect to the question in the House of Commons, but admitting it, or giving a vain, weak, and embarrassing opposition. When it comes to the Council there is as little doubt, if I am not much mistaken in the sentiments of many of that board, that it will pass there. In addition to their sentiments on the subject-matter of it, *the inexpediency of the Council stifling a Bill of such general desire, at this time, must influence; and then the not transmitting it, will singly rest upon my refusing to certify a measure, which I trust his Majesty's Ministers will not think eligible, and that it cannot be advisable for a Lord Lieutenant singly, by a power scarcely, if ever, exerted, to stifle a Bill of universal desire, against the sense of the Commons, the majority of the Council, and the general sentiments of the nation.*

Having done my duty in stating these measures to your Lordship, and the time not admitting of delay, I shall hope for an expeditious answer; and if none such should come before the 22nd, I shall trust his Majesty will think I act the part most essential to his service, in pursuing that conduct which the exigency of the times, from every concurrent circumstance, and the prevailing opinion, seems to me to require, in not opposing the Bill.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, 21st May, 1780.

My Lord,

I received on Thursday last, the 18th, by Dawes the messenger, the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 14th, in answer to mine of the 8th instant, in which, after observing that Mr. Bushe's motion for leave to bring in the Heads of a Bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the regulation of the army, is too vague and unexplained a proposition to found a precise and determined opinion upon, your Lordship has signified to me His Majesty's pleasure, that if it proceeds upon the foundation of the British Mutiny and Desertion Bill not being in force in Ireland, and that it should be so framed as to assert or convey that idea, *I should in that case oppose it to the utmost of my power, in every stage of the progress.*

The Money Bills being before the House of Commons when I received this letter, it appeared to me inexpedient for His Majesty's service to communicate any part of the subject of your Lordship's dispatch until these Bills were sent up to the Lords; which being done yesterday, I this day appointed a meeting of such of His Majesty's confidential servants, and other noblemen and gentlemen whom it has been usual to call together upon subjects of importance.

At this meeting there attended, the Primate, Chancellor, Archbishop of Dublin, Archbishop of Cashel, Duke of Leinster, Earl of Tyrone, Earl of Shannon, Earl of Ely, the Provost, Attorney-General, Mr. Flood, Mr. Foster, Mr. Burton, Sir Robert Deane, and the Solicitor General, to whom I communicated the above instructions from His

Majesty, and I added that the measure was now no longer a matter of deliberation, and therefore it was equally my duty and inclination, to resist it by every possible exertion; that the most fatal consequences might arise from its being brought forward, particularly as I could not but apprehend, though I had no official authority for it, that the Bill, if forced through this kingdom, might, from its particular importance, be laid before the British Parliament. *I concluded with requesting, most earnestly, the support of all the friends of His Majesty's Government, and* IMMEDIATELY WITHDREW.

I should have the highest satisfaction, if I could give your Lordship any hopes of my being able to stop the introduction of this Bill; but I am confirmed in the opinion I have already stated to your Lordship in that respect.

I shall to the utmost of my power, and according to the best judgment I can form, adhere to the instructions sent to me in your Lordship's said letter of the 14th instant, and I am humbly to express my most grateful acknowledgments to His Majesty, for His Majesty's gracious goodness, in not requiring me to take the unusual step of stopping this Bill by my sole authority as Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom, a measure of which there does not appear a single instance in the books of the council office, since the year 1711, when all the books preceding that year were destroyed by fire.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.*

* In a subsequent despatch, the Lord Lieutenant writes that Mr. Flood's decided opinion was, not to oppose the Irish Mutiny Bill. But even this advice was disregarded at St. James's.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, 24th May, 1780.

MY LORD,

The late unpleasing transactions of the House of Commons of this kingdom relative to the proposed Mutiny Bills, having been stated to your Lordship from the accounts given me by Sir Richard Heron, leave nothing for me to express, but the mortification I feel at not having been able to stop the torrent of popular prejudice on its first motion. The consequences are, however, of so much importance to His Majesty's service, that I will suppress every emotion which might divert my attention from retrieving the step which that House has taken.

I have been careful that the minds of men should be impressed with just ideas of the consequences, injurious to Great Britain and fatal to this country, if the legislative authority of the one should be formally denied by the other; and the language of the day leads me to indulge a hope that the impression is made, and that prudence and moderation will resume their influence.

I will not, therefore, despair, and your Lordship may be assured, that through every stage of the Bill, no exertion of mine shall be wanting, so far to model the several enacting clauses, that His Majesty's ministers may deem the transmittal of it not to be absolutely inexpedient.*

I am just returned from passing the Money Bills; the

* In a letter, the ensuing day, he states that the heads of the Bill were postponed till Monday, and adds these significant words, "*Your Lordship may be satisfied that the intermediate time shall be employed to the best advantage for his Majesty's service.*"

Loan Bill has been read a first time in the House of Commons.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, 28th May, 1780.

MY LORD,

The paper which I have the honour to enclose to your Lordship, intituled "Heads of a Bill for the better Regulation of the Army in this Kingdom, for Quartering of Soldiers, and the carriage of their Baggage," contains the suggestions of some gentlemen in the House of Commons, who are convinced that a Mutiny Bill of some sort is absolutely necessary to be passed in this kingdom, for the preservation of His Majesty's army. The gentlemen who espouse it, confess themselves to be alarmed at the serious consequences which may attend either the total rejection of a Mutiny Bill, or the passing such a Bill in this kingdom as may not be admitted in Great Britain. To avoid the confusion which must follow in either case, these Heads of a Bill are proposed in a form totally different from the British Mutiny Bill, without a single expression impeaching the validity of the British law to govern the army in this kingdom, and seeming, on the contrary, to carry that law and the king's prerogative into effectual execution.

At the same time, I evidently see that these Heads of a Bill do *substantially assume the power of regulating the army by an Irish law, although a British law for the same purpose is in existence.*

Looking upon this proposition in the light of an alteration of the constitution, I should consider myself as bound

by your Lordship's dispatches of the 28th of March last, and of the 7th instant, absolutely to oppose and resist it. But your Lordship's letter of the 19th instant, rather seems to imply that His Majesty's instruction, which your Lordship was pleased to convey to me in your letter of the 7th instant, does not contain a direct order to oppose a *Mutiny Bill*, unless "upon a supposition that the Mutiny Act passed in the British Parliament, is not binding in Ireland."

The favourite object of my ambition is to execute strictly His Majesty's instructions; but your Lordship will now observe wherein consists my difficulty.

It is impossible to believe that any Mutiny Bill introduced into Parliament here, is not introduced with a view to supplant the British law; but this may be done tacitly, and without an intimation of any such purpose upon the face of the Bill; where then, my Lord, am I, under your Lordship's letter of the 19th, to seek for the suggestion that the Mutiny Act passed in the British Parliament, is not binding in Ireland? If I am to look for it in the declamations of popular orators, I must instantly conclude that no Mutiny Bill, in whatever form it may be fashioned, is to be admitted. But if I am to pay attention to the language of individuals, and the Bill only is to speak, then I may understand your Lordship's letter of the 19th to imply a consent, that a Bill which does not expressly disclaim the validity of the British law may be admissible. Such is the enclosed paper understood to be, and I have therefore not lost an hour in laying it before your Lordship for the consideration of His Majesty's ministers, and for His Majesty's commands, whether such Heads of a Bill are, or are not, to be opposed in council here.

I must remark to your Lordship, that the paper is not yet in parliamentary form, nor has it been presented to the

House; so that your Lordship will not consider it as showing precisely the intended Heads of a Bill; but I have reason to believe that it will be presented to the House on Monday next, as a substitute for those clauses in the Heads now before the House, which relate to internal martial discipline, and that clauses will be added relative to the conduct of the civil power. It is impossible, therefore, to say exactly what will be the Bill, as the House may adopt it; but as soon as it shall be received and considered there, I will immediately lay it before your Lordship.

In the mean time, I judged it expedient, from the delay of correspondence, and the necessity from the general situation, of coming to a speedy decision, to give (undigested as the matter is,) such information of the state of this business, as depends upon me. Nothing can be more unpleasing to my feelings, than the idea of adding to the difficulties of his Majesty's Ministers, by nice distinctions and unnecessary cavils. But as, from comparing the several dispatches received from your Lordship upon this subject, doubts may be entertained with respect to the full intention of them, your candour will excuse my requesting, in a matter of such complicated importance, that the answer may be as expeditious and explicit as circumstances will admit. In addition, permit me to mention that *no difficulty can remain with me, when the line of my conduct is determinately marked, be it what it may.*

I have, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

The foregoing letters show to what extremes the British Cabinet were proceeding, and to what straits they were driving even their own executive officer, when he, too, was obliged to remon-

strate against the directions given to him to stifle the Bills in the Privy Council, and not suffer them to come before the King. Thus, all the efforts made in Parliament were vain :—the iron hand of the Minister weighed down the country. A Perpetual Mutiny Bill was irreconcileable to every principle of a free state ; and Mr. Fox went so far as to declare, on reference to it in the House of Commons, that in his opinion, " whoever advised such a bill, was guilty of high treason." The old constitutional doctrine was, that the preamble of the annual law should set forth the subject's right. "Whereas it is illegal in the crown to keep a standing army in time of peace." But all these safeguards were departed from in the instance of Ireland, when the Irish army was regulated by a British Act. Accordingly the patriotic party in Ireland sought to render it parliamentary, and clothe it in a national, or at least in a constitutional attire. Mr. Bushe, therefore, on the 22nd of May, moved to bring in a Bill to punish mutiny and desertion. He spoke with great effect ; and it was said to have been the best effort he ever made in Parliament.

Gervase Parker Bushe was a man of a superior class. He belonged, (like the rest of the men of that day,) to the Augustan age. He was a man of taste, fond of literature, and an excellent classical scholar. He was possessed of the clearest understanding, the most delightful temper, and

the most amiable manners,—a courteous address—a playful and a polished mind. He had, as before-mentioned, distinguished himself by his opposition to the American war, and by a pamphlet which he wrote against British taxation, which circulated widely in England, and for which he deservedly got great credit. He was well versed in revenue business, and published a tract on the population of Ireland, which was ingenious and useful, and though not applied to fiscal purposes, was of much service in a political point of view. He had certainly joined the court party, and taken office; but he did not in consequence separate from the popular leaders, and all along there was a secret understanding—a national and honourable league between the distinguished men of that day—that, on the great questions, they would come over to the side of the people, and serve their country. On the present occasion, Bushe did so; and, strange to say, he did so with success—for his motion was carried by a large majority, and the bill was read a first time on the 26th of May.*

But this measure, so far carried ostensibly against the Government, served, as appeared after, only to embitter the disappointment, and aggravate the hardship of the case—it was, in fact, *reculer pour mieux sauter*. Government did so, and with a vengeance; for their conduct nearly led to the disbanding of the army, and involving the

* Bushe died at an early period of life in 1793.

country in confusion and civil war. Mr. Foster, on the 29th of May, moved a clause of rather an insidious nature—namely, that the army should be regulated by such laws as the King has made, or may make, not extending to life or limb. This was carried by 117 to 80. Considerable time elapsed before the bill was returned from England, and on the 3rd of August Mr. Grattan complained of this delay, but Government gave no explanation. He stated that no army could exist in Ireland, subject to the law of another country; that neither the Commissioners of Revenue nor the magistrates would obey it; and if the Ministry of England were to keep back this bill, he would move a resolution, "that any magistrate who acted under an English Act of Parliament, was an enemy to his country."

Sir Edward Newenham moved a call of the House for the 8th, when it was expected the bill would be returned. In consequence of the exertions of the Government, the House was very thin; and it was manifest the Ministry were under great embarrassment—so much so, that Mr. Fitzgibbon declared that if the Mutiny Bill was altered, he would be one of the first to secede from Parliament;—he saw no other alternative than to let the army pay themselves. Such was the embarrassment, that a party of soldiers escorting the equipage of the regiments encamped near Thurles, on applying to the Mayor of Clonmel

for billets, were refused by the authorities, as they said there was no law to compel them to grant any. The party, however, was hospitably entertained and provided for, by the inhabitants of the town.

It was clear, therefore, that the people would not obey the English law. Yet such was the infatuation of the British Ministers, and their determination to stretch the royal prerogative to the utmost, that they not only altered the bill, but they introduced a clause rendering it perpetual; and on the 12th of August it was read a first time. This astounding measure depressed the party greatly;—they were downcast at the violence with which the Ministry proceeded; and Mr. Burgh declared "*that all was over, and that Ireland was borne down;*" and "*that it was not possible for her to resist the tyranny of Great Britain.*"

On the 16th the question came on. It was strongly opposed:—Mr. Grattan stated, "that the king had in Ireland an annual hereditary revenue of 650,000*l.*, which would render an army independent of Parliament. At the beginning of the Session, the House spoke to the Minister in another tone; they denied the supplies, until they obtained their rights; but this bill was an instrument of humiliation—their glory was fled; the great power of Parliament was humbled in the dust; and this at a time when the volunteers were daily reviewing and parading. If they passed this

bill, the situation of Ireland would be that of abject slavery. But I prophesy (said he) that if such a bill is passed, *it will draw down public vengeance on the head of the Minister.*"

Such, however, were the exertions of the Government, both in the House and out of the House, (as appears by the various letters of the Lord Lieutenant,) that they succeeded in getting a majority of 114 over 62.

Edmund Burke, in his celebrated speech at the Bristol Election, when he was turned out for the part he took in favour of the manufacturers of his country, after alluding to the concessions on the subject of trade, which he said were extorted from the fears of England, adds, "*This scene of shame and of disgrace has, whilst I am speaking, ended by the perpetual establishment of a military power in the dominions of the crown,* without consent of the British Legislature, contrary to the policy of the Constitution, contrary to the declaration of right, and by this your liberties are swept away along with your supreme authority. Two illegal armies were seen with banners displayed at the same time, and in the same country. No executive magistrate, no judicature in Ireland, would acknowledge the legality of the army, which bore the King's commission; and no law, or appearance of law, authorized the army commissioned by itself."

CHAPTER V.

Increased ill treatment and discontent of Ireland.—Conduct of the Duke of Leinster.—Appointment of Lord Charlemont to the head of the volunteers.—His reply on the nomination.—Character of Lord Charlemont.—Letter of Lord Charlemont from Egypt.—His travels and adventures there.—His birth-day ode written by himself.—Poetical epistle of Lord Charlemont to Mr. Marlay.

THE total disregard manifested towards the wishes of the people, and to the advice of their leaders in the House of Commons, now began to be felt. Distrust and discontent seemed to have pervaded all classes of citizens. The sentiments of the British cabinet being known, the exertions of Lord Buckingham to oppose every constitutional effort,—"*to employ his time to the best advantage for his Majesty's service*"—(terms significant in themselves, and well understood by all parties,) —together with the King's commands to stop all popular measures at the outset, had roused the people to the highest state of indignation. Even the Duke of Leinster grew alarmed at the violence

of the Government, and took a decided part with the people; he strove to calm their passions, and regulate their ardour. His conduct will appear from the following letter:—

SIR RICHARD HERON TO SIR STANIER PORTEN.

Dublin Castle, June 10, 1780.

SIR,

I enclose to you herewith, by command of my Lord Lieutenant, for Lord Hillsborough's information, a newspaper printed here this day, called the Public Register, or Freeman's Journal, containing an account of a meeting yesterday, at a tavern in this city, of certain persons styling themselves the Dublin Volunteers, and publishing certain resolutions, moved and entered into by them, relative to the constitution of this kingdom; and am to observe, upon the Duke of Leinster's appearing there in the chair, that it was a Quarterly Meeting; and that I find, upon inquiry, that so far from these Resolutions being formed upon any motion of his Grace, or at his instance, that they would have been much more violent, had it not been for his interposition.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RICHARD HERON.

At a numerous Quarterly Meeting of the Dublin Volunteers, held at the Eagle in Eustace Street, Friday, June 9, 1780, his Grace the Duke of Leinster in the chair, the following Resolutions were moved, and unanimously agreed to:—

"Resolved,—That Great Britain and Ireland are, and ought to be, *inseparably* connected, by being under the

dominion of the *same king*, and enjoying *equal* liberty and *similar* constitutions.

"That it is the duty of every good citizen to maintain the connexion of the two countries, and the *freedom* and *independence* of this kingdom.

"That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland *only* are competent to make laws, *binding* the subjects of this realm; and that *we will not obey*, or give operation to *any laws*, save only those enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, whose rights and privileges, *jointly* and *severally*, we are determined to support with our lives and fortunes.

"Signed, by order,

"FRANCIS DAVIS, Sec."

Slighted, disappointed, discouraged by the Government, it appeared advisable to the people, that a more permanent union should be formed with the aristocracy, and that the highest men of the country should be brought into the ranks; accordingly, the volunteers proceeded to elect their generals, and the choice of their chief commander fell upon an individual whose love for his country justly entitled him to so proud and conspicuous a situation: Lord Charlemont was unanimously appointed; and prior to his visit to the North, he made the following reply to their nomination:—

GENTLEMEN,

You have conferred on me an honour of a very new and distinguished nature,—to be appointed, without any so-

licitation on my part, the reviewing-general of an independent army, *raised by no other call than that of public virtue;* an army which costs nothing to the State, and has produced every thing to the nation, is what no other country has it in her power to bestow. Honoured by such a delegation I obeyed it with cheerfulness. The inducement was irresistible; I felt it the duty of every subject to forget impediments which would have stood in the way of a similar attempt in any other cause.

I see with unspeakable pleasure the progress of your discipline, and the increase of your associations; the indefatigable, steady, and extraordinary exertions, to which I have been a witness, afford a sufficient proof, that, in the formation of an army, public spirit, a shame of being outdone, and the ambition to excel, *will supply the place of reward and punishment—can levy an army, and bring it to perfection.*

The pleasure I feel is increased, when I reflect that your associations are not the fashion of a day, but the settled purpose and durable principle of the people; from whence I foresee, that the advantages lately acquired will be ascertained and established, and that solid and permanent strength will be added to the empire.

I entirely agree in the sentiment you express with regard to the exclusive authority of the legislature of this kingdom. I agree also in the expediency of making the assertion; it is no more than the law will warrant, and the real friends of both nations subscribe.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obliged, faithful, and
obedient humble servant,

July 15, 1780. CHARLEMONT.

Lord Charlemont was the most accomplished man of his day; the most polished and the most agreeable. He was, in these respects, superior to any person that had yet appeared in Ireland, or, probably, that Ireland will ever again behold. His society was charming; he had the art to make every place and every company agreeable; and his conversation was so delightful that it disarmed all reflection. He was fond of humour, and liked sometimes to be severe, and occasionally indulged in sarcasm, but never on his company. He was full of spirit, of integrity, and of public virtue. He possessed ambition; a great love of fame; a great contempt for money,—the consideration of which never entered into his mind. He was incorruptible. He was one of the few Irish peers who loved liberty; and it may be truly said, that *he was not only the first of those peers, but the only one among them* who gave dignity to his station. His spirit and integrity would not permit him to yield to Government; but when the people had triumphed, he strove to reconcile the parties, and would not abandon the Government on a question which endangered it.

One predominant feature in Lord Charlemont's character was, a sacred attachment to the British connection; his desire was to keep well with England; and he worked in favour of Government, not for this or for that minister, but for the Government solely; and was not only anxious to have the people supporting him, but to have the

people supporting the Government. The prejudice of party led some to say, that he was nothing more than *a polished man with exquisite manners*, but they were mistaken; he was a man of excellent sense, and possessed a better judgment than many persons allowed him. He was at the head of a most powerful national army, supported by the upper classes, and comprising all. He assisted in leading them on to civil liberty; he assisted also in guarding them against popular excesses; and, in both cases, he deserved the greatest credit, in both he rendered the greatest services to his country. He was flattered into the chair at the Rotunda, and joined the Convention in 1783; and he certainly still kept with the people, although the people had broken with the Parliament; he favoured their addresses, and attended their meetings, and thus contributed to uphold them. But, though he seemed to encourage them in their error, yet he was thereby enabled to moderate, if not to control and guard the volunteers against any violent extreme, or any excess which would have tarnished the high reputation they had deservedly acquired.

It was most fortunate that such an individual existed. His grave and civil character was necessary to restrain the ardour of the volunteers, and rescue them from their own excesses; for he well knew that *liberty loses half its value if it is purchased by a victory over the people.* There are

times and there are occurrences when a man ought to stop, and should rather prefer to break with his party than go forward; yet few men who have acquired popularity, possess courage enough to risk its loss. But Lord Charlemont did so—he hazarded his popular fame, at the most critical period, and rendered thereby a lasting service to the empire. His principles were noble as his mind was patriotic; he possessed an abhorrence of every thing that was low and base, and instantly gave up his borough when the question of Reform was under consideration; tendering to the people that which had hitherto been considered as private property.

Lord Charlemont was at once a patriot and a courtier; he loved the people, and possessed at the same time taste and manners that would have adorned a court. He afforded a rare instance of such a union, and would have done honour to old Greece in her best of times. He was certainly not devoid of vanity; but if he had the defects that attend it, he had the virtues also. His keeping clear of the Court—his declining to accept office—and his lead among the volunteers, established him in the minds of the people, and gave him *an everlasting reputation.*

Lord Charlemont wrote well; his replies to the addresses from the volunteers are excellent,—and while they encouraged their spirit and formation, they gave a regulated tone to liberty. He was

a good Latin scholar, and knew Greek remarkably well. He had travelled much, and was well versed in the Continental languages. He was fond of poetry, and composed some light and pretty things. His intimacy with the Bishop of Waterford, (Marlay) encouraged this pastime, and their mutual taste led them to an epistolary correspondence, partly verse, partly prose, full of humour, raillery, and wit.

Lord Charlemont had formed a club, which was called the "Society of Granby Row." It was political as well as convivial, and Messrs. Grattan, Burgh, Langrishe, Yelverton, Doyle, and Sir Edward Newenham, were some of the principal members. It served the public cause, and assembled men who possessed inclination and ability to propose plans and digest measures for the advancement of their country.

The Catholic question was Lord Charlemont's weak point; he was at first unfavourable to their claims, and objected at an early period to their getting the elective franchise, when a measure of that description was in contemplation in 1785. The county that he belonged to was violent against them, and one of his ancestors had lost his life at the period of the civil wars in 1641. But his mind relaxed in 1793, and he did not oppose the measure; and prior to the close of his life, he became friendly to the great question of Catholic Emancipation.

Lord Charlemont's name will live as long as virtue, spirit, and patriotism are esteemed.

A letter addressed from abroad to his friend Marlay, and some lines written to that individual, on a subsequent occasion, may not be inappropriately introduced here, since they afford a proof of the goodness of his heart, no less than of his taste, and his playful disposition.

Alexandria, September 6, 1749.

MY DEAR MARLAY,

A ship which is now on its departure for Leghorn affords me the first opportunity I have had for these three months of assuring my dear friend that my love for him still continues unimpaired, either by time or the variety of objects which hourly present themselves. The pleasure I have in finding this opportunity of an hour's talk with you, is greatly lessened when I consider that it is impossible for you to answer me—a voluntary exile—far out of the reach of ports and pacquet boats. Having satisfied our curiosity in Constantinople and the Greek islands, behold us at length in Egypt—the famous source of the sciences, and once the first country in the world for riches and magnificence. The Nile, so famous in antiquity for its nine mouths and no head, has been rising for about three months, which makes this season, for many reasons, the most delightful and curious for our purpose. As we are but just arrived, you can expect no account of any thing here; all I can say is, that every thing we meet strikes us with wonder. In a day or two, when we shall have well examined this port, we propose to set out for Grand Cairo, for which purpose we are now busied in getting ready our Turkish masquerades; for 'tis necessary in that voyage to go

travestied *à la Turque*. How many times I wished that you could but have seen us in some of the droll equipages we have been in during our abode in the islands, mounted on asses, and glad to get them; pack-saddles, without either bridle or stirrups; seven or eight days without a bed to lie on, encamped on desert islands.—All these are stories which I long to tell you, but at present must hasten, for fear the vessel that is to take this should sail,—yet I have not a quarter done. My birth-day this year was kept at sea, between the islands of Crete and Coss; the feast was celebrated with several actings, dutiful and voluntary,- firing of cannon, &c. &c. No kind bard being here to write my birth-day ode, and the sea-gods being bad poets, I was obliged to cry my own ballad, and extempore, as you will easily perceive.

MY BIRTH-DAY ODE; WRITTEN BY MYSELF TO MY DEAREST FRIEND RICHARD MARLAY.

I.

My Marlay! see the rolling years
With certain speed our lives devour;
Each day its due proportion bears,
And nearer brings the fatal hour.

II.

'Tis one-and-twenty years this day
Since first I drew my vital breath:
So much the nearer to decay!
So much have I approach'd to death!

III.

He well hath lived, who, when the sun
Departing yields to lowry night,
Can say, This day my task is done,
And let to-morrow seize its right.

IV.

How many minutes, days, and nights,
My soul recalling, finds mis-spent?
In vain, to excuse misuse, she seeks
Of time for other purpose sent.

V.

Oh, could I but recall the time,
Could I but live those years again!
What, then? Perhaps the self-same crime—
Regret again, and double pain.

VI.

The price of time, like that of health,
Is seldom known 'till each is lost.
By want we learn to value wealth,
And wish for summer, chill'd with frost.

VII.

'Tis past three years, 'twill soon be four,
Since last I saw my chosen friend;
So much is lost—and now they're o'er.
Who knows if fate three more will lend!

VIII.

No more of that. This festal day
In harmless pleasure let us pass.
One bumper toast—I'll show the way,
'Tis Marlay's health—fill up my glass!

Don't you think the tossing of the ship is in these lines?—I don't think my residence at Delos, the sacred birth-place of Apollo, has much improved me; but if my verses be not good, I am sure they are sincere. If I had time, I would give you another grand ode to Virtue—

thank the wind and captain, you are safe for this time; but you shall have it the first opportunity.

I have been very busy measuring a column, above one hundred feet high, which is of one stone—a most beautiful granite, seventy feet long. The women here are most droll animals; those of the Greek islands are deities compared to these gypsies. Sure never was letter written with such freedom of thought and of style as mine to you.—Prior plainly proves to us, that "he writes best who never thinks at all,"—if so, this epistle is a master-piece. But would it not vex you to receive from Africa, another quarter of the world, such a parcel of stuff?—nonsense is the growth of every clime, but this is transplanted from Ireland. Besides, I don't see why my letter should not gain a value by coming so far—it certainly is a curiosity. However, do but judge of the length of my letter by how much you are tired reading it, and I am sure you will find it long enough.

My love and good wishes and compliments to all my friends, masculine and feminine. If I should write any more, the ship would be gone, so for good reasons I shall conclude myself,

Your most affectionate
Faithful friend,

Burton's compliments. CHARLEMONT.

The Ode to Virtue, which he here promised to send, somehow miscarried; but the following verses will give an idea of his playful mind and taste. They were written after his return from his travels.

POETICAL EPISTLE OF LORD CHARLEMONT TO MR. MARLAY.

Bath, January.

DEAR DICK,

'Tis hardly worth, I know it,
Even to be a minor poet.
But surely then, the devil's in him,
Would deign to be a poet minim.—
But, prithee, friend, what can I do?
I sit me down to write to you,
In humble harmless prose—and straight,
These cursed rhymes infest my pate,
And down they must. Well faith, it's hard!
Sure, I've been bit by some mad bard;
And ever since that fatal time,
I think, and write, and prate in rhyme.
Thro' every vein the venom tingles;
If I but shake my head, it jingles;
And thus my case, as bad, or worse is,
Than, hung with bells, a waggon's horses',
Whose din, incessant, while they stun him,
Warns every passenger to shun him.
Have you not seen a wretched squirrel,
Condemned a cage with birds to twirl,
Doomed to perpetual ding, dong, ding—?
The more he strives, the more they ring.
Such is my lot—yet fate has granted
One comfort still—I have not wanted
Companions in my misery—
There's *Bushe* is twice as mad as I.
Bushe, to be sure, was doubly bitten,
For, not contented to have written
Of miscellaneous trash whole volumes,
Odes, epigrams, and what do ye call 'ems,
Facetious verses, where no joke great is,
He tragic turns, and poisons Socrates.

Yet, hitherto, there's nothing in't—
I fear he will appear in print—
There! there's the rock on which we split,
The press! the touchstone of true wit,
Where dangers dwell which heed no hinting—
Brethren, beware! beware of printing!
See, rather, spite of nature's cries,
Your children burn before your eyes,
Than send the brats abroad to be
Their wretched parents' infamy—
Rather than yield to be ashamed
Whene'er you hear your offspring named,
Nor dare to eat a tart, for fear
You, Tereus-like, should eat your own dear children there!
I knew a man, who in his throat
Could imitate the cuckoo's note,
So very like, I well remember
You'd swear 'twas August in December.
His friends were pleased—thence sprung his ruin,
And praised him for exact cuckooing.
Thus puff'd, my gentleman essays
T' enlarge the circle of his praise.
Resolves to try, such was his rage,
His talent on the public stage.
But, here, alas! his aim he missed;
In short, my gentleman was hiss'd;
What pleas'd in private wondrous well,
The ill-natured public damned to hell—
Nay, worse, whene'er he walks the streets,
He's sport to every fop he meets;
His former merit turns to shame,
And Cuckoo's now his only name—
The very boys have got it—"Look who
Comes here," they cry, "'tis Cuckoo! Cuckoo!"
Our provident kind mother, Nature,
Has fixed in every human creature,
At every age, in every station,
A portion of self-admiration,

By which this blessing we inherit,
That no man thinks he wants his merit.
Tho' strange, 'tis true, the self-same eye
Can lessen, and yet magnify;
And while by Vanity's directions,
We scarce discern our imperfections,
Each smallest grace in our possession
Is magnified beyond expression.
Were it not so, poor wretched elves!
We all should hang or drown ourselves.
Would Ross, or Cavan, think you, live,
Did they their own defects perceive?
Would R————h, to all peers disgrace,
Dare show his coronet or face?
Tho' avarice might make him falter,
He'd strain a point to buy a halter.
'Tis this makes Beckford think he's fit
To speak in the same house with Pitt,
And Knight, the jest of every pew,
Dare mount the pulpit after you.
Did ever lady leave her glass,
Quite out of humour with her face?
Even Lum, when she is trick'd out snugly,
Cannot persuade herself she's ugly;
And Mack, tho' blasted, ugly, old,
With faults too hideous to be told,
So nauseous, that were she thy lot,
She'd turn thy hardened stomach, Scott!
Mindless of all her plots miscarried,
Still fancies that she may be married.
But chief and most, I know it well,
We scribblers in this gift excel,
Perverting still, and changing blindly
To ill, what nature meant us kindly;
And spite of reason's wise instructions,
Each author treats his own productions,
As fond *Tyrone*, her squinting heir;—
The boy has such a roguish leer.
Kind self-conceit will thus assert you,
Each vice to be its neighbouring virtue;

The very slightest plea will serve us:—
If our harsh verse runs rough, 'tis nervous;
If easy flow the senseless line,
'Tis music, melody divine;
Obscurity's poetic diction,
Low vulgar cant best suits affliction;
To prove it, Jones brings Horace, pat in,
For Mounteny has taught him Latin.
Fustians sublime, pert dulness, humour,
I could produce you, not a few more;
Such instances, that every poet,
Alas! I by experience know it!
Blind with self-love, himself abuses,
And still his own defect excuses.
Such the disease—now let us try,
To point you out the remedy;
I've found the means, which, well applied,
Checks always my poetic pride.
And brethren, if you would be cured,
Probatum est—your health's insured—
Whene'er I, after scribbling, find
Conceit begin to infest my mind,
Or hope of fame my bosom fire,
Straight to my study I retire,
And there search out what bard soever,
Has best performed what I endeavour.
If tragic flights my thoughts engage,
One scene in Shakspeare quells my rage;
If I have got the heroic stilt on,
I read a page or two of Milton;
And viewing my own bombast after,
Trust me, I scarce refrain from laughter.

CHAPTER VI.

Mr. Grattan accompanies Lord Charlemont to the North.—Review of the volunteer corps.—Arrival of Lord Camden.—Address to him, and his reply.—His opinion on Ireland.—Address to Mr. Grattan, and his reply.—The Lord Lieutenant to Lord Hillsborough.—Services of Mr. Broome.—Astonishing increase of the volunteers.—Good effects of the same.—The Mutiny Bill.—Mr. Grattan's conduct on the occasion.—The Lord Lieutenant's account of the debate on the Bill.—Disappointment but not despair of the patriots.—Mr. Grattan's advice to constituencies.—Resolutions in consequence.—Conduct of the Government thereon.—The Viceroy reproved by the British Minister.—Resolutions of the citizens of Dublin.—Meetings on College Green.—Expressed opinions of the nation.—Parliament prorogued.

In July Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan went down to the North, and the different volunteer corps of that quarter were reviewed by them;—those in Westmeath were reviewed by the Earl of Belvidere; those in Sligo and Galway by Lord Clanricarde; those in Londonderry by Lord Erne; the southern corps by Lord Shannon; the Limerick and Clare by Lord Kingsborough and the Earl of Inchiquin, whose corps bore as their motto, "*Hibernia tandem libera.*" The Dublin and Wicklow corps were reviewed in the county Wicklow by Lord Powerscourt.

At this time, Lord Camden, who took a great interest in Irish politics, and was in some degree connected with the country, came over to Ireland. Several of the Dublin corps were reviewed at the Phœnix Park in his presence. He expressed his surprise and satisfaction at their military appearance; and the opportunity was taken to present him in the field with the following address :—

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD CAMDEN.

My Lord,

We, the colonel, officers, and privates of the Liberty Volunteers, associated for our mutual defence against foreign and domestic enemies, and firmly determined, at the hazard of every thing we hold dear, to maintain the rights of the *people*, and support the *real* interest of the *crown* of Ireland, take the earliest opportunity to congratulate your lordship on your safe arrival in this kingdom.

We are happy, in every opportunity to show our respect to virtuous men, especially at a time when honour, spirit, and virtue seem to have forsaken their *native* soil. Your lordship, who has never deviated from the path of virtue, justice, or manly support of your country, claims every mark of respect and gratitude which *freemen* can bestow, and conspicuous merit deserves.

Edward Newenham,
Colonel of the Liberty Volunteers.

Parade, July 4, 1780.

(ANSWER.)

Gentlemen,

I am very happy that my public conduct has deserved the approbation of so *respectable* a corps as the Liberty Volun-

teers of Dublin—respectable, not only in themselves as individuals, but more eminently so, as they are a part of that noble association for the defence of their country, in these times of danger and distress.

This compliment to me, is as flattering as it was unexpected; and I hope you will be pleased to accept, as the only return in my power, my poor but grateful acknowledgments for so high and undeserved a mark of your esteem.

I have the honour, gentlemen, to be
Your most obedient and humble servant,
CAMDEN.

This answer was cautious and proper; Lord Camden's legal mind could justify these associations only from the exigency of the times; but his opinions on the subject of Ireland were in unison with those of Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan. They met at Marino, and Lord Chancellor Lifford was of the party. The conversation turned upon the politics of the day. The Lord Chancellor was proceeding to praise the Irish Government, when Lord Camden observed to him: "*America has been lost, because she has bad governors; and Ireland may one day be lost for the very same reason*—from bad government."

This was a remarkable sentence from a man who was not very bold in advancing opinions.

Afterwards, Lord Camden went to Belfast, and attended the review of the volunteers that took place there; when Lord Charlemont, and Mr. Grattan

as his aide-de-camp, were selected to inspect them. He was introduced to Mr. Halliday, an able advocate of liberty, and a leading man in the North; and, on seeing the Northern army, whose conduct, appearance, and discipline he admired and extolled, he addressed to him these ominous words, "*Keep it up; keep it up; for, rely on it, England will never forgive you.*"

How truly spoken, and how prophetic this was, has been fully proved by Mr. Pitt's Government, the extinction of her Parliament, and the existence of Ireland as a nation.

The following address was presented to Mr. Grattan at that period by the Newtown and Comber battalion.

TO HENRY GRATTAN, ESQ.

When so many virtuous citizens are disclaiming the usurped authority of an external legislature, and avowing boldly and honourably their ideas of our constitutional rights, we should feel ourselves truants indeed to the cause of freedom, and remiss in that duty we owe the community and ourselves, were we not to join in openly declaring our firm purpose never to acknowledge or acquiesce in the right of any power to bind this realm, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; and holding this a position of the most sacred nature, we conceive it must be maintained inviolate, to give *any permanence to commercial advantages, ceded under the frail and fallacious tenure of expediency.*

Your virtuous and powerful efforts to get this important truth recorded on the Journals of Parliament, has gained our highest admiration; and though unsuccessful in this

point, we cannot deem your voice to have been raised in vain; for the wisdom of your words has been re-echoed through the land, and wonderfully contributed to awaken in the breasts of Irishmen a just sense of their undoubted claim to independence. In this particular, and all the rest of your parliamentary conduct, you have greatly served your country; and if any thing can add to the refined satisfaction this reflection affords you, it must be the universal and generous applause of the wise and good, pouring out their acknowledgments of gratitude in the warmest language of the heart. Happy are we to have this opportunity of offering our small tribute of praise to a character so distinguished for approved worth and eminent abilities.

ROBERT STEWART, Capt. Commandant.

Parade, July 12, 1780.

TO THE NEWTOWN AND COMBER BATTALION.

Sentiments so worthy of freemen, so honourable to yourselves, and serviceable to the public, I cannot hear without receiving the highest satisfaction.

Gentlemen, *this is the spirit which secures liberty*, and adds to a free people, no inconsiderable share of reputation and splendour.

You have done me great honour, and I assure you there is no part of my conduct I reflect on with more pleasure, than my constant attention and high respect for the armed societies. I beheld their infancy with an anxious expectation, and contemplate their progress with astonishment. May the bright appearance of this day prove an additional inducement to animate, continue, and increase them!

I cannot avoid observing how much the honour you confer upon me is increased, when I consider it comes from a body of men so numerous and disciplined; and commanded

by one whose rectitude and decision I have been long a witness to, and whose assistance in public questions I am proud to acknowledge.

I am, gentlemen,
Your most humble and obedient servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Belfast, July 12, 1780.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, July 13, 1780.

MY LORD,

The review of the military associations in the South by Lord Shannon, has ended as might have been expected from the appearance of so steady a friend to Government.

Lord Charlemont, with Mr. Grattan as his aid-de-camp, are gone to the North to review the volunteer corps there. You may be assured I shall have attention to the proceedings of those corps, and if any matter of importance should arise, I will immediately communicate it to your Lordship.

The observations which the transaction has pretty generally occasioned, induces me to mention to you that when Lord Camden was in Dublin, six of the volunteer corps of this city were drawn out in the Phœnix Park, and performed their exercise before him, on which occasion an address to his Lordship by the Liberty Volunteers, with his answer, appeared in the "Freeman's Journal" of the 6th instant, which I send your Lordship enclosed. He is gone Northward, where probably his curiosity may lead him to be present at the review of the volunteer corps in that country.

It is reported that Lord Shelburne intends to honour Ireland with his presence; but of this your Lordship must receive earlier information than I give you.

I have, &c.
BUCKINGHAM.

In every part of the kingdom these associations started up, as if by magic, all armed and clothed in Irish manufacture. Uncouth as some appeared at first to be, and singular as were their uniforms, various as were their occupations, yet they improved with a rapidity that was surprising. They quickly learned the use of arms; and directions to exercise military manœuvres and evolutions were published and every where disseminated among them.

Mr. Grattan's early friend, Mr. Broome, at that period in the army, and well acquainted with military duties, rendered on this occasion most important services. He occupied himself in training and disciplining the cavalry; and for his indefatigable, ardent, and active exertions, he received the thanks of the volunteers. The account of their reviews, the resolutions and addresses to the various patriotic members, with their answers, occupied, during the space of nearly three years, the newspapers of the day, and would of themselves fill volumes. They selected their own officers, nominated their reviewing generals, purchased artillery and cannon, tents and accoutrements for the field. All was done at their own expence. Presents of pieces of ordnance were made to various battalions. Every class, and every age assisted; even the church sent forth its contributions in the cause of liberty; and the following receipt is but one of the many that came from that body—"Received, January 9, 1780, of the

Rev. Dean Marlay the sum of 7*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* by the hands of the Rev. Mr. Brownrigg, being a subscription to the corps of Gorey Volunteers.

STEPHEN RAM."

Even the female sex lent their aid upon this occasion; and wove and ornamented colours which they presented, (accompanied with much pomp and circumstance,) to their favourite corps; they also took a pride in attending the various reviews in their gayest attire and handsomest equipages. These associations not only became fashionable, but were almost the only object which attracted public attention. Not to be in uniform, was not only considered as a proof of lukewarmness, but a mark of disgrace, and was used as a term of reproach in the House of Commons—where, on one occasion, it was imputed to a particular Member that he was the last who had appeared in uniform.

Meantime, the peace of the country was unexampled; order reigned throughout the land; the laws were better obeyed than they had ever been. The volunteers enforced obedience; they attended to the civil as well as the military duties; escorted the judges at the assizes, conveyed the prisoners to the several towns, and diffused through the country a spirit of order, as well as of chivalry; and a temper to obey the laws, as well as a desire to vindicate the rights of their country.*

* For specimens of the resolutions and addresses voted at this time by the volunteers, see Appendix, III.

The strong measure on the part of the British minister, of rendering the Mutiny Bill perpetual, was a severe and unexpected blow to the popular party. It dismayed Mr. Burgh; but it did not disconcert Mr. Grattan; and it aroused the people. The subjoined was the statement made to the Government in England:—

SIR ROBERT HERON TO SIR STANIER PORTEN.

Dublin Castle, August 9, 1780.

SIR,

I am directed by his Excellency, my Lord Lieutenant, to acquaint you for the information of Lord Hillsborough, that Mr. Grattan yesterday in the House of Commons mentioned, there was a report, that the Bill for the better accommodation and regulation of his Majesty's army in this kingdom was to be returned, *with an alteration making it perpetual.* He therefore gave notice that he should oppose, to the utmost, the passing of the Bill in this form, and *if the attempts were unsuccessful, should secede.* He was followed in similar declarations by Mr. Fitzgibbon, Mr. Yelverton, and Mr. Forbes; and Mr. Grattan added, that should the Bill be carried, he should not only join in seceding from the House, but appeal to the people in a "formal instrument."

Mr. Foster said, although he thought it very improper to enter into debate at that time, he however could not help mentioning that he did not foresee any danger, from the alteration that was rumoured to have been made in the Bill, and that the proceedings they threatened were in the highest degree unparliamentary.

I am happy to acquaint you, that the House by no means

joined in the violence of these gentlemen, but, on the contrary, seemed greatly to disapprove of it.

I have, &c.

RICHARD HERON.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, August 17, 1780.

MY LORD,

In the letter I had the honour of writing to your Lordship yesterday, I mentioned that the Bill for the better accommodation and regulation of the army in this kingdom, was agreed to be debated on the commitment.

The order of the day for that purpose being read, and the motion being made for the Speaker to leave the chair, the House immediately divided without debate—Ayes, 59; noes, 25.

The House then having resolved itself into a committee, the debate arose upon an amendment proposed by Mr. O'Hara, for restoring in the first clause the words, *for and during the continuance of this Act, and no longer,*—which had been expunged by the Privy Council in England; and about ten o'clock the committee divided—for the motion, 62; against, 114. Mr. Grattan then observed, that any further opposition would be ineffectual; but gave notice that he should, in the next Session, move the repeal of the law. The Bill was after this gone through and reported, and will be read a third time this day.

Mr. Gardiner spoke remarkably well in favour of the Bill, as did the Provost, who voted yesterday against the Sugar Bill. Lieutenant-General Cunningham also exerted himself upon the occasion, and what he said had great influence upon the House. The persons of most conse-

quence who supported the amendment were Mr. Grattan, Mr. Fitzgibbon, and Mr. Bushe.

The Prime Sergeant, Attorney-General, and Mr. Foster, reserved themselves to answer what might fall from gentlemen on the other side of the House, Mr. Hussey Burgh and Mr. Yelverton not having spoken. But the question being put, and permitted to pass very unexpectedly, they were prevented from speaking; and I am informed that this circumstance occasioned the majority to be much smaller than otherwise it would have been, as about thirty members were shut out, twenty-five of whom would have supported Government.

As the success of this measure is of the greatest importance to the tranquillity of this kingdom, I have sent the account of it by Captain Corbet, upon whose expedition I could depend.

I have, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

The defeat on the Declaration of Right, the Sugar Bill, and the Mutiny Bill, filled the patriotic party with alarm, but not with despair. Mr. Burgh's expression was that "*Ireland was borne down by England:*" and Mr. Fitzgibbon considered all future opposition useless and unavailing; but the result showed that men should never despair, while they have a just cause, and the people to support it.

Mr. Grattan left town to recruit his health, which had suffered in consequence of his exertions during the Session, and addressed the following letter to his friend Robert Day:—

MR. GRATTAN TO ROBERT DAY.

DEAR DAY,

I am going out of town till Thursday, and have only a few moments to write, what I wish most heartily was adopted. First—To return thanks to our worthy representatives for their virtuous conduct, particularly in supporting a Declaration of Right, and an alteration of the Law of Poyning's; to assure them that we, their constituents, are thoroughly convinced of, and do most steadfastly maintain, the propriety of such a measure; that we hope they will persist to secure the independency of the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; also to procure a modification of Poyning's Law, and limit the Mutiny Bill; inasmuch as they conceive a perpetual mutiny law as unconstitutional, and dangerous to freedom in general; particularly dangerous to personal liberty, and a measure both humiliating and alarming.

That we hope they will limit the Money Bill to six months, until such measures shall take place; also to hope they will consent to no measure which in any degree may dissolve or diminish the volunteer associations.

The same ideas may be thrown into the form of a test, which the constituents should prescribe to themselves.

Yours, sincerely,

HENRY GRATTAN.

These were recommended by Mr. Day to his friends in the county of Kerry, and the idea was adopted and acted on with spirit and alacrity. The following resolutions were those that attracted the attention of Government, and were made the subject of complaint in England:—

Dublin, August 14, 1780.

At a very numerous and respectable meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freemen, and Freeholders, held pursuant to public notice,—The High Sheriff in the chair:—

"Resolved, That the Sugar Bill, and the Bill for the better Regulation of the Army of Ireland, have suffered alterations in Great Britain, such as must render the former injurious to trade, and the latter subversive of liberty.

"That a Mutiny Law, unlimited in duration, is against the fundamental principles of the Constitution, tends to make the power of the crown absolute, and to establish in this country a military government.

"That any persons who shall be base enough to comply with the mandates of administration, in supporting these alarming measures, will justly forfeit all title to the future confidence of the people."

Dublin, August 17, 1780.

At a meeting of the Merchants' Corps of Volunteers, Peter Digges Latouche, Esq., in the chair:—

"Resolved, That the late decisions of the House of Commons (so destructive, in our opinion, to the constitutional rights, and injurious to the commercial interests of this kingdom), demand the most serious attention of every Irishman.

"That we consider their consent to the mandate of the British minister, by which the Bill for the Regulation of the Army is made perpetual, and the control thereof for ever vested in the hands of the Crown, as a subversion of the Constitution, and a stab to the liberty of the subject.

"That, considering the army of this kingdom as a body

of men embarked in the cause of their country, and equally entitled, with ourselves, to the protection of its legislature, we cannot but feel for their situation, who, by this law, are in danger of being made, at a future day, the unwilling instruments of despotism, to violate the liberties of Ireland.

"That we consider the compliance of that House, with the alteration made in the Sugar Bill by the English Privy Council, reducing the proposed duty on Lump Sugars, as an overthrow to the refinery of this kingdom, and a total obstruction to the extension of its manufactures, by an export to the British Colonies and West Indies.

"That we will concur with the volunteer corps of this kingdom, and the rest of our fellow-subjects, in every effort which may tend to avert the dangers we are threatened with.

"That the strenuous, though unsuccessful efforts of the minority of the House of Commons in defence of the Constitution, merit the thanks and firm support of every friend of his country."

August 18, 1780.

At a meeting of the corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers; Thomas Ashworth, Captain-Commandant, in the chair:—

"Resolved, That by the late decisions of the House of Commons, in regard to the Sugar Bill, and to an Act for the Regulation of the Army in this kingdom, We are constrained to believe that our commercial and constitutional interests have been sacrificed to the advantage of individuals.

"That the virtuous, though unsuccessful efforts of the minority of the House of Commons, in support of our trade and constitution, merit the thanks of every friend of his

country; and, that we will concur with the volunteer corps of this kingdom, and every other class of virtuous citizens, in every effort which may tend to avert the public danger, and recal those men who have betrayed the confidence of their constituents to a sense of public virtue.

"That, as freemen or freeholders, we will not on future occasions vote for any person of the majority who divided in favour of the Bill to prevent Mutiny and Desertion, as altered by the Privy Council of England."

In consequence of these resolutions, the Government held a council at the Castle: but, unwilling to involve themselves in a legal prosecution, they threw upon the House of Commons the invidious task of condemning the press, and censuring the people; and thus the opportunity was afforded, which the Lord Lieutenant, in one of his letters, alludes to; accordingly Mr. Conolly complained of them in the House of Commons, when there was a very thin attendance, and the House resolved, that they were "false, scandalous, and libellous, and tended to draw the people from their obedience, and raise discontents among His Majesty's subjects." The Viceroy complained of them to the British Government; and was requested by the Irish House of Commons to prosecute the authors, printers, and publishers. This, however, was the extent of their indignation: they could not prosecute the people, who were equally guilty in sentiment, though not in expression; and finally, the Government were advised not to pro-

ceed with the prosecution, lest it might aggravate and not allay. But the British minister reproved the Viceroy for his lenity on the occasion, and hence one of the causes of their disagreement, which ended in his recall.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, August 21, 1780.

My Lord,

Sir Richard Heron, by my directions, communicated to Sir Stanier Porten, for your Lordship's information, an Hibernian Journal, printed on Friday, containing resolutions entered into at a meeting of the merchants' corps of volunteers, assembled at the Royal Exchange on Thursday last, and a Freeman's Journal of Saturday, containing publication of a similar tendency with those in the Hibernian, and he mentioned that a consultation of the King's law servants was to be had as yesterday, to consider what might be proper to be done on the occasion.

There were other publications of the same nature in the Dublin Evening Post of Saturday.

At the meeting yesterday, which consisted of the Chancellor, the Speaker, the Prime Sergeant, the Attorney-General, and Mr. Foster, *these publications were considered as highly criminal,* and they advised that Lord Annaly, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who is in the country, should be desired to come immediately to Dublin, and that I should take the advice of His Majesty's confidential servants, and the supporters of His Majesty's Government, for my conduct upon a subject of such importance.

I accordingly summoned a meeting for this morning at

my apartments in the Castle, at which were present,—the Primate, Archbishop of Dublin, Duke of Leinster, Earl of Westmeath, Earl of Shannon, Earl of Ely, Lord Clifden, the Speaker, the Provost, Mr. Conolly, Lord Chief Baron, Prime Sergeant, Attorney-General, Mr. Burton, Mr. Clements, Mr. Foster, Sir Hercules Langrishe, and Mr. Townshend, being all who are now in Dublin or the neighbour hood, except the Chancellor, who was prevented by indisposition from attending, and the archbishop of Cashel, who excused himself.

It was the sense of this meeting that the publications were an attack upon the legislature of this kingdom, and that the enclosed resolutions, which were prepared by Mr. Foster, the Attorney-General, and Prime Sergeant, should be moved in both Houses of Parliament, expressing their sense of them; and to address me to order prosecutions against the printers and publishers, and also the contrivers and authors of them, when discovered.

The House of Commons being adjourned to this day, Mr. Conolly, in pursuance of this determination, moved the resolutions, which were seconded by Lord Delvin, (the earl of Westmeath's son) who has hitherto acted uniformly against Government, and they were resolved by the House *nemine contradicente.*

Sir Richard Heron stated, in his letter to Sir Stanier Porten, that Mr. Peter Digges Latouche, whose name appeared as chairman of the meeting mentioned in the resolutions contained in the Hibernian Journal of Friday last, was not one of the partners of the bank of Messrs. Latouche, but only a clerk in their office. When the resolutions were moved to-day in the House of Commons, Mr. David Latouche, the eldest of the sons in the partnership of that bank, arose, and expressed his abhorrence of the resolutions entered into by the Merchants' Corps of

Volunteers, and informed the House, that the young man, who was his kinsman, had assured him he was forced into the chair—that he was ignorant of the resolutions intended to be proposed, being assured the intention was to move something respecting non-importation on account of the Sugar Bill; also, that the young man was exceeding sorry for his having been present at such resolutions. The House of Commons therefore expressed their sense that he should not be included in the prosecutions desired by the Commons.

The House of Lords is adjourned to Thursday, when this subject will be taken up by their Lordships, and similar resolutions will be moved by the Duke of Leinster. I have given full directions that proper attention may be had to the meetings proposed in this city; *also that the most expeditious mode of prosecuting the offenders may be adopted.*

I flatter myself that the firm conduct of His Majesty's Government, and of the two Houses of Parliament, will *check these traitorous proceedings, and preserve the peace of this kingdom.*

The Attorney-General and Mr. Foster have upon this occasion acted with great zeal to His Majesty's Government, and with great firmness in opposing the attempts which have been made to disturb the peace of it. In critical situations, similar to the present, there must be some difficulty between the giving too much or too little alarm, especially, as however great the probability of keeping Dublin in a degree of tranquillity, it is impossible to decide upon the influence which the circulation of these seditious publications may have in the distant provinces. My own opinion, from circumstances too vague and complex to state particularly, is that the peace of the kingdom will be preserved. Yet this must be considered as an opinion only. I have, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

Notwithstanding the denunciations on the part of Government, the people were not deterred; these proceedings added fresh fuel to the flame. The people supported the resolutions of the volunteers, and the citizens of Dublin adopted the following on the subject.

Tholsel, Dublin, Sept. 5th, 1780.

At a most numerous and respectable meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the City of Dublin, held pursuant to public notice,

William James and John Exshaw, Esqrs. High Sheriffs, in the chair:—

Resolved, that we are convinced it is now necessary to have recourse to a Non-Importation Agreement, as being pregnant with greater benefits to the country than a partial and an imperfect grant of a nominal Free Trade—a trade (as now regulated) unsubstantial and unproductive, to our wishes delusive, to our wants inadequate. And we trust that the spirit and patriotism of our countrymen will effectually relieve this kingdom from the many disadvantages to which it has been so long subjected.

Resolved, That we will not, from the date hereof, until the grievances of this country shall be removed, directly or indirectly, import or consume any of the manufactures of Great Britain; nor will we deal with any merchant or shopkeeper who shall import such manufactures; and that we recommend an adoption of a similar agreement to all our countrymen who not only regard the commerce and constitution of this country, but wish to preserve that valuable part of the community (our poor manufacturers) from a re-

turn of those calamities out of which they were so recently extricated by the spirit of the nation.*

Resolved unanimously, That we highly applaud the manly and patriotic sentiments of the several corps of Mer-

* The subjoined was one of the many productions that were circulated on this occasion.

IRISH MANUFACTURE.—A NEW BALLAD.

Ye noblemen, in place or out,
Ye volunteers, so brave and stout,
Ye dames that flaunt at ball or rout,
Wear Irish manufacture.

Thus shall poor weavers get some pence,
From hunger and from cold to fence
Their wives and infants three months hence,
By *Irish manufacture.*

Nor richest squire, nor proudest peer,
Need scorn our humbler homespun gear;
No stuff on earth will wear and tear
Like *Irish manufacture.*

May senators, with bawling throat,
That 'gainst their country speak and vote,
Be drest in tar and feather coat,
Of *Irish manufacture.*

Poor *Paddy* said he'd have free trade,
And *Johnny Bull* was much afraid,
He would his boasting true have made,
With *Irish manufacture.*

To couz and chouse him, then, with lies,
So craftily did he devise;
And put his fingers in his eyes,
Lest he should manufacture.

chants', Independent Dublin, Liberty, and Goldsmiths' Volunteers, and heartily thank them for their early demonstration of zeal and ardour in the cause of their country, and that we shall ever be ready to join with them in defending our rights and constitution, and gladly and cheerfully contribute to protect them from prosecution or persecution.

Public feeling was strongly demonstrated on the 4th November, when the volunteers assembled round the statue of King William, in College Green, which was decorated by inscriptions and labels expressive of popular sentiment, but which were quickly removed by the authorities from Government. On one side of the pedestal was a label with the words, "*Pro aris et focis.*" "Increased prosperity and unanimity to the volun-

He would not give him *sugar plums*,
Nor let him e'er pick up his crumbs;
With galling screws he'd squeeze his thumbs,
To spoil his manufacture.

What though the *paviour* boasts his skill,
And joins with *Monkey Daffodil*;
We do not think his Sugar Bill
Is *Irish manufacture*.

But if we'll all together stick,
We'll give our enemies a *lick*;
And *Manchester* to the D—l kick,
With *Irish manufacture*.

* Two of the members who supported the measure in Parliament.

teer army." "May the virtuous resistance of America prove a seasonable lesson to the British minister."—On the second side, "A speedy revival of a non-import and non-consumption agreement."—On the third, the figure of Hibernia weeping over the words, "Liberty, commerce, and constitution," and holding a label directed, "To the glorious volunteers of Ireland," with these words, "My beloved sons, act with firmness, perseverance, and unanimity, as Saviours of your country; bravely demand a short Mutiny Bill, else bid a final adieu to public liberty." "An Equitable Equalization Bill, else commerce will become your poverty and ruin." "A Bill to render the judges independent of the crown, *quamdui se bene gesserint;* and as the current of public justice rests with the interested determination of prerogative, ask for a modification of the law of Poyning's, a parliamentary declaration of the rights of Ireland, and a Habeas Corpus Act."—On the south side, "Courage, perseverance, and triumph to the gallant volunteers who dared to censure corrupt representatives." "A free press, that palladium of public liberty."

These were more than the mere *opinions* of the people; not as Lord Hillsborough, in the subsequent letter, called them—"*the convulsions of expiring faction;*" they were the firm resolves of the Irish nation. But it was in vain to inform the

British minister of this,—whether it were Lord Weymouth, Lord Hillsborough, or Lord North. National calamity seemed to be their only instructor.

LORD HILLSBOROUGH TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

St. James's, 14th Sept. 1780.

My Lord,

Your Excellency's several letters to the 7th of this month have been received and regularly laid before the King. I congratulate your Excellency upon the happy conclusion of the longest and most troublesome session of Parliament that has ever been known in Ireland.

I hope the scandalous publications and the riotous proceedings of whch I have received accounts in some of your Excellency's letters, and in others from Sir Richard Heron, are nothing but *the convulsions of expiring faction*, and that the propriety of your Excellency's conduct, assisted by the firmness of both Houses of Parliament, will at last secure peace and tranquillity to the distracted kingdom of Ireland.

Your Excellency's speech, and the addresses of both Houses, do honour to all concerned; and give me leave to observe, with great truth, that the Irish have reaped greater advantages under your administration than under any former that I can recollect; a consideration that must give the greatest pleasure and satisfaction to the well-wishers of Ireland, as well as to all those who have the honour to be in the number of your Excellency's friends.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Hillsborough.

CHAPTER VII.

Alarm at St. James's.—Desire of the English Government to stifle the liberty of the press.—Opinion of the Lord Lieutenant and the Irish Attorney-General, Scott, against it.—Character of Scott.—His origin and change of opinion.—His desertion to Government.—His style in Parliament.—Extraordinary anecdotes of him, connected with the Rebellion of 1798.—Further proceedings and resolutions of the volunteers.

THE publications alluded to in the foregoing letter having been forwarded to St. James's, occasioned much uneasiness. Lord Hillsborough wished to proceed at once, and attack the press. The Privy Council in Ireland were, however, more cautious, and thought it prudent not to indict an entire nation.

This circumstance—the difference of opinion, and the delay in consequence, operated on the minds of Lord Hillsborough and Lord North, and they pressed the Lord Lieutenant on the subject.

He replied with some expressions of dissatisfaction, and excused himself by transmitting to them the formal opinion of the Attorney General against prosecuting the press, which in this instance would have been tantamount to prosecuting the Volunteers of Ireland, and which was certain to have involved the entire kingdom in confusion. Mr. Scott further thought that it would not have been advisable to commence the administration of a new Viceroy by an act of such general hostility. Fortunately, his recommendation was followed; but it was not pleasing to the British ministry, who appeared, in this transaction, to be wholly reckless of consequences.

Mr. Scott, whose name is here mentioned, had taken for many years an active and important part in the politics of his country. He had been originally in the ranks of the people; in his younger days he had followed Dr. Lucas and his party—lived with the opponents of the court—and was in principle and practice rather more than democratic. At one of the early College elections, he had taken a very active part on the popular side; but after the accession of George III. he went round to the Government, and yielded to the solicitations of Lord Townshend, to whom he observed, with much humour and a little regret—"*My Lord, you have spoiled a good patriot.*" Accordingly, he was brought into Parliament to support the Government, and came there to speak

for them; but being in this respect very deficient, he thought it wiser to make it up in another way, and consequently he changed his mode, and attempted to terrify. He attacked Mr. Flood; he supported Lord Townshend; he vindicated Lord Harcourt; he struck his breast—slapped his hat—appealed to his honour—and laid his hand upon his sword. It was parliamentary acting on his part, not speaking.

Scott was a bold and even a fearless character; some would have called him a daring adventurer. Yet he had not a bad heart; he possessed an excellent temper, much humour, great moral as well as physical courage, and was at any time ready to hazard his life for his party. These were his qualifications: they were above mediocrity; certainly not noble, and, to a supporter of Government, scarcely creditable. His mind was quick, and his manner was dexterous; he had the art to make his services esteemed, and his personal exertions to tell with the Government, and he always weighed them in the scales of private interest and ambition. His principles were arbitrary; his love of liberty cooled after he left the people, and if a question had arisen, he would probably have ordered the soldiers to fire on the volunteers.

Scott was studious, and had read law, but not profoundly, and on the question of fiats he was mistaken. Though a courtier, he still was an

Irishman, and never indulged in attacks on his country, as Lord Clare did; nor did he ever seek to raise himself by depressing her. He had opposed the question of independence, disapproving of the time when Mr. Grattan brought it forward. He said the country had got a free trade, and if she aimed at a free constitution, she might lose what she had acquired; that she had got into harbour laden with commerce, and was going to put to sea again. This opinion was not wholly disinterested; for the fact was, that he had intrigued with the opposition, and had given the Government before that, to understand, that if Ireland was to obtain a free trade, she would not demand a free constitution; and it was this that induced Lord Hillsborough to write to Lord Buckingham, in March, 1780, that if any latent design existed of making attacks on the Constitution, the Lord Lieutenant should oppose them, and prevent their being even transmitted to England. Anxious, therefore, that his prediction should be verified, the Attorney-General opposed the question of independence, with greater zeal, though he would not hazard his legal reputation when challenged to it by Mr. Flood, and assert that England had a right to make laws to bind Ireland.

The anecdote of "Harry Plantagenet,"* which Scott applied to Mr. Flood, in 1781, was hu-

* Irish Parliamentary Debates, vol. i. p. 123.

morous, and well told. Mr. Flood had annoyed him the night before, by laughing at his fears, when he complained to the House of the violence of the mob. The attack by Flood was a good-humoured joke, and the complaints of Scott were a serious farce; but he had cunning enough to make them relished at the Castle; and in doing so, he admirably succeeded, for he gratified both his avarice and his ambition.

After the death of Mr. Tisdall, Scott was appointed Attorney-General; and under Lord Northington he was made Prime Sergeant. Shortly afterwards, he obtained the title of Earlsfort, then of Clonmell, and then the Chief Justiceship of Ireland. He became, however, discontented, quarrelled with the Government, was slighted by Lord Clare, was assailed and annoyed by the press, and died (it may be suspected) broken-hearted.

Scott did not act upon any regular system; but having deserted one standard, he would not afterwards abandon another; and having bade farewell to fame and popularity, he hoped to find a refuge and a solace in wealth and titles. He did not hate liberty, neither did he hate the people; but he certainly was not in love with either, nor would he have made battle for them. Still, his heart was good; and he was neither deaf to the calls, nor insensible to the feelings, of humanity; and he proved this at the period of the insurrection.

On the Roman Catholic question, his mind was open and liberal; and prior to 1795, he gave it as his opinion, and wrote a very decided letter expressing his sentiments, that the country never would be at peace until the Roman Catholics were emancipated, and the restrictive statutes entirely repealed.

The following anecdote, which reflects such credit upon his character, was communicated by one of his own relations. Shortly before his death, he sent for his nephew, Dean Scott,* got him to examine his papers, and destroy those that were useless. There were many relating to politics, that disclosed the conduct of the Irish Government at the period of the disturbances in 1798. There was one letter in particular, which fully showed their duplicity, and that they might have crushed the rebellion; but that *they let it go on, on purpose to carry the Union, and that this was their design.* When Lord Clonmel was dying, he stated this to Dean Scott, and made him destroy the letter; he further added, that he had gone to the Lord Lieutenant, and told him, that as they knew of the proceedings of the disaffected, it was wrong to permit them to go on — that the Government, having it in their

* Dean Scott was married to Miss Charlotte Bushe, Mr. Grattan's niece, and he communicated this statement with the knowledge that it would be made use of in a work of this nature; but he would neither disclose the name of the person who wrote the letter, nor more of the contents than above mentioned.

power, should crush them at once, and prevent the insurrection. He was coldly received, and found that his advice was not relished. That of Lord Clare, Mr. Foster, and Bishop Agar had predominated; and, in consequence, he was not summoned to attend the Privy Council on business of State.—(His health not being good, was advanced as the excuse.) On ordinary affairs, however, he still received a summons.

As an instance of the knowledge the Government had of the persons engaged in the rebellion, Lord Clonmel mentioned this extraordinary circumstance,—that, previous to it, he had been visited one evening by a person in the middle ranks of life, with whom he had been well acquainted. This man told him how much he valued him, and that his life was in danger; that some persons, well known to him, (the speaker,) meant to make him their victim; that, as his health was not good, a colourable pretence afforded itself for his going off to England with his family, and that if he did not, he would be assassinated. Lord Clonmel thanked him, told him he valued his own life very much, but that he valued *his* also, and therefore would wish *him* to go off to England instantly; for that he was suspected, and known to Government. The man would not believe it possible. Lord Clonmel *then told him where he had been, with whom, and what he had been doing on such and such particular*

nights; that Government knew every thing connected with the movements of the conspirators; and that in a short time he would be seized, and probably executed. The man was terrified, and went off to England the next day. The night after, Government sent to his house to apprehend him, but he was gone! To Lord Clonmel he owed his life.

Any comment on these extraordinary facts would be superfluous. Posterity will pronounce its sentence; and another more awful tribunal—that which awaits man hereafter!

The volunteers now proceeded to make more effectual arrangements, and a more complete organization for their future military proceedings: they selected their general officers; they appointed places for their provincial reviews; they published the following Resolutions, which spread rapidly through the country; and, acting in this legal and constitutional manner, they baffled the Government, and set at defiance the threatened measures of the British minister.

The following Resolutions, recommended at a meeting of officers, who had been present at the Newry Review, on the 21st and 22nd of August, have been adopted unanimously, by the several corps, as underneath.

"Resolved,—That under the British constitution, which we claim and are resolved to enjoy, it is the right of every subject to express freely his sentiments concerning the conduct of every branch of the legislature, but particularly

that branch which derives its whole power and dignity from the people.

"That when the liberty of the press is invaded, liberty itself is in danger; and when its delegated protectors seem to forget the ends of their delegation, it is the duty of their constituents to assist their recollection.

"That we have heard with concern and astonishment that the House of Commons of Ireland has adopted an alteration made by the Privy Council of England in the Bill for the better Regulation of the Army of this kingdom; an alteration of the most alarming tendency, as it takes from both our Houses of Parliament the power of exercising that immediate and effectual controul over the army, which we consider as absolutely necessary for the preservation of the freedom of Great Britain and Ireland.

"That we consider the compliance of the House with the alteration made in the Sugar-Bill by the English Privy Council, reducing the proposed duty on lump-sugar, as an overthrow to the refinery of this kingdom, and an obstruction to that extension of its manufactures, which might have been expected from a free export to the British settlements and colonies, and with the hopes of which we were insidiously led to amuse ourselves.

"That we are firmly convinced that *the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished;* and *that the freedom of the country can only be preserved by the spirit of the people, and the virtue of the House of Commons.*

"That we therefore solemnly bind ourselves to use every legal and constitutional means, in order to obtain, as soon as possible, a repeal or amendment of the law for the better regulation of the army, and an increase of the duty on refined sugar imported; and if such repeal or amendment shall not be obtained before the next election, we bind our-

selves not to vote on that or any other such occasion, for any candidate, *who will not previously pledge himself to vote for and support these measures,* with all his power and ability; and we will, on every occasion, and by every constitutional means in our power, oppose the re-election of such members as voted for these bills in their present form.

"That the strenuous, though unsuccessful efforts of the minority of the House of Commons, in defence of our constitution and commerce, merit the warm thanks and firm support of every friend of his country.

"That we are determined to persevere in the exercise of arms, and recommend the same resolution to our brethren in every part of the kingdom, and to as many others as have not yet sufficiently considered its necessity; *and rather than submit to the perpetual establishment of martial law in this country, we are ready to engage, as citizens and soldiers, to undergo the toil and discipline that may be necessary in order to support the police, and to enforce the due execution of the law of this land.*

"That committees of correspondence be appointed, in order to secure that co-operation of the volunteer corps of this kingdom, which, at the present period, appears not only highly expedient but absolutely necessary.

"That these Resolutions be published."

Oriel First Volunteers	Captain Francis Evans
Oriel Second	Captain Michael Wright
Tullyhappy	Captain James Dawson
Lisdrumhur	Captain John Ingram
Tyrone Ditches and Acton	Major Francis Dobbs
Clare	Capt. Lieut. Alex. Patton
Armagh First	Capt. Lieut. Sam. Maxwell
Lislooney	Captain —— Harris
Sheepbridge	Captain William Gordon

Rathfriland	Captain Samuel Barber
Banbridge	Captain James Law
Lisburne True Blue	Captain Robert Purden
Lisburne Fuzileers	Captain William Todd Jones
Rakenny True Blue	Secretary James Deane
Newry Troop of Rangers	Captain Thomas Benson
Newry First Volunteers	Captain Joseph Pollock
Newry Third	Captain David Bell.

Province of Leinster, Royal Exchange,

November 10, 1780.

The deputies from the following corps, having met pursuant to public notice, Colonel Hayes in the chair:—County Dublin light dragoons; Rathdown light dragoons, county Dublin; Rathdown carabineers, county Wicklow; Dublin light horse; Union light dragoons; cavalry of Arlington legion; independent Wicklow horse; Meath light dragoons; Curragh rangers; Kilkenny rangers; Naas rangers; Naas corps of light infantry; Ralph's Dale grenadiers; Skreen volunteers; Slane, Duleek, Drogheda, and Dundalk corps of infantry; Rathdown infantry, county Dublin; Rathdown infantry, county Wicklow; independent Wicklow foresters; Rockingham volunteers; Talbot's-town invincibles; Dunlavin independents; Aldborough legion; Wexford independents; Longford infantry; Newcastle and Donore union; South Coolock, North Coolock, Upper Cross fuzileers; Dublin volunteers; goldsmiths', lawyers', merchants', liberty, and independent Dublin volunteers, &c. &c. The following Resolutions were come to, viz.:—

"Resolved unanimously,—That, preparatory to a provincial review, it will be expedient to have three reviews, at three of the most convenient places in said province.

"That the first of the said reviews be held at Dublin,

on Tuesday, the 5th of June next; and it is recommended that the second be held at Bellew's-town, in the county of Meath, on the 1st of July next; and the third, at Carlow, on the 1st of August.

"That deputies from such corps as choose to attend the first of said reviews, do meet at the Royal Exchange, Dublin, the 2nd of February next, at one o'clock, to appoint a reviewing general, and an exercising officer, and to transact such other business as shall be necessary."

CHAPTER VIII.

Removal of the Lord Lieutenant.—Lord Carlisle appointed Viceroy.—Administration of Lord Buckingham reviewed.—State of Ireland before and after his rule.—To whom and what her misfortunes were owing.—Degrading means of obtaining majorities.—Disgraceful state of the Pension List.—Mr. Grattan's speech on the sale of peerages.—His prophetic anticipation of the consequences of corruption.—Letters of Lord Buckingham confirming the charges of corruption.

In the month of September Parliament was prorogued, after having failed in their resistance to an English Mutiny Bill, and having passed merely the Tenantry Bill. The surrender of Charlestown to Lord Cornwallis in the month of May, and the victory obtained by him in August over the Americans under General Gates, at Camden, had given to the Ministry a short-lived confidence, which had operated to the injury of Ireland, and proved fatal to the Mutiny and Sugar Bills.

As the Lord Lieutenant had now held that office nearly the allotted time, and the aspect of affairs had not much improved under his management, it was thought advisable to remove him;

and, accordingly, on the 29th of September, Lord Hillsborough informed him that the King had nominated Lord Carlisle his successor.

The administration of Lord Buckingham merits attention. During his Viceroyalty, the most important subjects were discussed; the most vital measures were proposed; and the greatest efforts were made by the people in favour of the country. His letters show how he opposed Irish freedom, and how zealous he was to uphold the British interest, which at that time was but another phrase for Irish subjection. He appears to have been a vain-glorious and pompous character, who fancied he could do every thing himself; but the whole extent of whose abilities consisted merely in purchasing, and at a dear rate, majorities in Parliament: the worst, the vilest, and most degrading of occupations.

When Lord Buckingham came over to Ireland, he found some things in his favour. Several of the men who had opposed his predecessors were retained in his service; so that they were compelled to support his administration; or if they attempted to oppose it, they could only do so occasionally upon trifling questions, and without public effect, because without public character. The abilities of some being thus retained or discredited, the Viceroy had other advantages; he had to deal with the shattered and disgusted relics of former party, whose attacks, often repeated, began to turn to despair; and who

were left at large to brood over personal disappointment. There was, then, as is generally the case under every new Minister, much corruption, much dereliction of duty, an interested partiality, much open-mouthed credulity, and some folly. There were men who, under the pale flag of affected moderation, covered a want of zeal, and felt an itching to be of consequence in a court which of itself had none.

The minds of men in Ireland, jaded by repeated injuries, had indurated towards public grievances, and with languid despondency they despaired of any improvement in their fortunes. The bills from England, though Lord Buckingham had no merit in them, served him; he had opposed them in public, and in private had decried all efforts in behalf of the liberties of the country. Yet the bills that were passed served him; though not to come into operation till years after,—they were in the mouths of his servants, who gave him all the merit; though he had infinitely less merit in obtaining them than the Opposition, who urged the question of free trade, and considerably less than the English Minister, who had pursued a frantic course of civil war, and thereby gave independency to America and commerce to Ireland.

Lord Buckingham's Administration found Ireland plundered even beyond the patience and example of a Roman province.* Pimps, parasites,

* In 1763, there stood a pension of 1000*l.* a-year in the name of *George*

and prostitutes disgraced the Government, weighed down the establishment, and beggared the community; the expense was intolerable from its infamy, from its weight, and from the incapacity of the nation to bear it. Every possible trial had been granted, and all was found insufficient; and after the experience of years, the result of the people's utmost bounty, and of the Minister's management, proved that Ireland could no longer bear the system of plunder.

Yet Lord Buckingham's Ministry had a species of merit; for it reconciled the people in some degree to bear the continuance of the system—expensive and disgraceful as it was—and that, too, at the recommendation of a Lord Lieutenant who had no public character nor capacity. The sinecure list, which had been increased to insult and ridicule, was not diminished; every new place, every additional salary, and every series of *masked pension*, was continued; and, in more than one instance, they continued a pension annexed to a sinecure, after the former proprietor was promoted to another, who would not, and, from his profession could not, do the duty, if any had been attached to it. In collecting the revenue, there

Charles, but in reality granted to Monsieur De Verois, the Sardinian ambassador, for negociating the peace that had been just concluded with France. A pension was also granted to an individual, well known as the pimp to a leading character of that day; and the name of His Grace the Primate of Ireland was actually affixed, though no doubt unconsciously, to the letter thus rewarding this unworthy person.

was no diminution; the profusion was glaring, when the expense of collecting was compared with the thing collected.

Under these circumstances, the Viceroy might have rendered a service to the country, without being a statesman or a financier. He could not protect the people; he could not march the troops; he could not camp the army; and he had not in the treasury money enough to buy bread for the soldiers. He was obliged to borrow 20,000*l.* from Mr. La Touche, to pay the troops; and his letters show the degraded state to which the country was then reduced.

The Judges' Bill was rejected by the interposition of Lord Buckingham. The bill had been promised by the English Ministry, and then disapproved of; but they were ashamed to throw it out, and left it on the Lord Lieutenant, who threw it on the Irish House of Lords, with whom he interceded against a bill for the independency of justice;—a measure which was necessary for the subject, according to the declaration of George the Third, when he came to the throne—that first boast of his reign, and the best effusion of the royal heart. This bill had been promised expressly to Ireland. Even the violent Ministry of Lord Townshend, and the shameless one of Lord Harcourt, had transmitted it to England. Yet Lord Buckingham, by his personal exertions, threw the bill out of Parliament, canvassing the Peers, spiritual and

temporal, against the establishment of the independent and impartial administration of justice. To save the British Cabinet, he disgraced the House of Lords, and sacrificed the bench of justice!

Where distress so general and so uncommon befals a country, it is not easy to suppose that it could happen without some want in the representatives of the people, either of sagacity or virtue. But, on the side of the popular party, it might be truly said, that they had not laid the foundation of the calamity that afflicted the country, either by voting against reduction of the expenses, or by opposing an application to the King for the redress of grievances; and they had not been instrumental in any way to the sad situation of public affairs, either by continuing the embargo for two years and a half, to the ruin of the provision trade, or by inflaming the Americans with an address against their liberties, which destroyed the linen trade; and they had protested against a system, which in Ireland was infatuated and ruinous. It must be admitted, therefore, that the character of the patriots of that day stands unimpeached, while that of the Irish and the British ministers stands without justification.

The entire system that was adopted, is disclosed in the letters which we shall presently introduce.

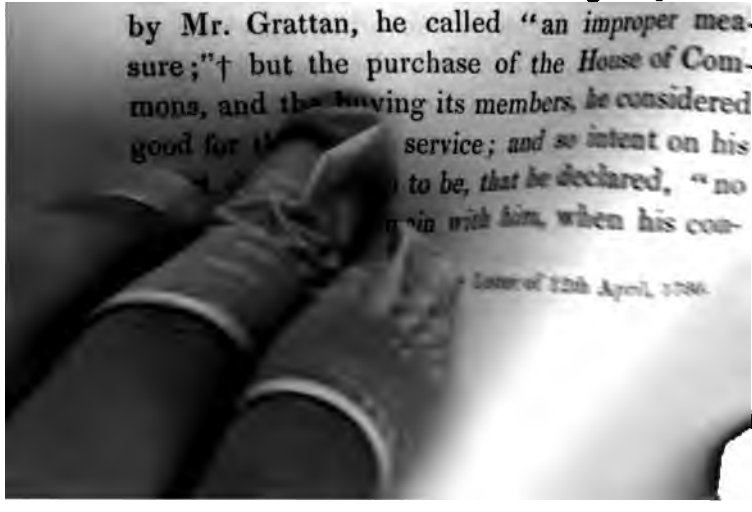
When the dull business of Government is only

exacted from Parliament, there will be always honest veterans enough to discharge it. A moderately disposed Court, which asks only for the usual measures, may command a majority; but when an awkward Court is violent in its enterprizes, more than ordinary artifices become indispensable, and place, pension, and promises must advance as trusty subsidiaries. This was the case with the Irish Government; nor was it confined to the solitary period of the Buckingham administration. The pension-list was unsparingly resorted to. On it there were some respectable characters; Prince Ferdinand, Sir Edward Hawke, the Royal family, and a few others. Their merits and their birth had a claim upon the nation; but the remainder of the list swarmed with characters which sullied merit by the contact, and which neither merit nor royalty could dignify; and now it was to be augmented for the worst of purposes —to buy the Commons.

Desert in every state, above all, in a free state, should be the object of public bounty as well as public affection; and it was singular, that a nation so sensible of merit as England, and so addicted to public bounty, should not have devised some other means of donation than those by which the citizen was disgraced, detached from his country. Reading th y of Rome stead of admiring t bou the virtues of her

of the Senate pensioning Cethegus, Lentulus, and Clodius and his sister, on an exhausted republic, what should we think of her wisdom or her purity? And, in like manner, what can be thought of that Government which selected the vices of the citizens, and made them a rent-charge upon the country? The state of a commonwealth must be desperate, when it is governed by the baseness instead of the virtues of human nature.

The letters of Lord Buckingham show by what means the cause of the people was defeated, and what the Viceroy considered to be *rendering a service to his sovereign*. Corrupting both Houses of Parliament, in order to keep the people in slavery; degrading the peers, to purchase the Commons; prostituting the pension-list—that gulf in which he proposed that his Majesty should lay the turbulent phantom of public spirit in Ireland;—these were the fitting occupations of the Viceroy;*—this was what he calls, "*employing his time to the best advantage of his Majesty's service.*" The Declaration of Rights, proposed by Mr. Grattan, he called "an *improper* measure;"† but the purchase of the House of Commons, and the [illegible]ving its members, he considered good for [illegible] service; and so intent on his [illegible] to be, that he declared, "no [illegible]ain with him, when his con-



* Letter of 12th April, 1786.

duct was marked out, *be it what it might.*"* He had not only entangled himself, but embarrassed the King; having, as he says, "*contracted absolute engagements, to secure a majority in the House of Commons.*"† He had thus involved his royal master in this direct bribery: for it appears, that the Viceroy would not have acted in the trade of corruption without positive orders; and he accordingly states, that "he had received the *King's directions* to oppose the measures of the patriots, *to the utmost of his power.*"‡. The King's commands were, not to transmit the bills; and for such services, men were to be rewarded!

Such a wholesale system of corruption, flowing from St. James's, and tainting the subjects of the realm, was hardly ever surpassed in the most corrupt periods of the annals of Parliament; § when the employment of Government was to court the vices of the subject, and the representative of majesty went about, like an obscene hawker, presenting by stealth his shameful merchandize; or resembling a criminal, who bribes off the evidence, that the forms of conviction may fail on the day of trial. Thus were the prerogatives of the King degraded, the nobles of the land debased, the representatives of the people corrupted, and the nation held in servitude and thraldom.

* Letter of 28th May, 1780. † Letter of 19th November, 1780.
‡ Letter of 21st May, 1780. § The period of the Union is an exception.

The indignant and eloquent language that Mr. Grattan applied to this unconstitutional and ignominious traffic was delivered some years after, on a motion by him, condemning the sale of peerages under the Marquis of Buckingham, in 1789. He and Mr. George Ponsonby offered to prove the fact at the bar of the House. It was said, the case they alluded to was that of Lord Kilmaine. The proceedings disclosed in the letters in question had not then transpired.

"You may cast a veil over families, but honour, that sacred gem, you have cast in the dust. I ask you, is there any man you would disgrace, by attempting to give him title, except such a man as would exalt you by the *acceptance?* The Irish ministry have attempted to strike off honour and authority. Such a minister goes before the leveller, like Sin preceding the shadow of Death, shedding her poisons, and distilling her influence, and preparing the nectar she touches for mortality. I do not say that such a minister, with his own hands, strips the foliage off the tree of nobility; no, he is the early blight that comes to the island to wither your honour in the first blast of popular breath, and so to scatter it, that at last the whole leafage of nobility may descend. He does not purpose to blow up the Houses of Parliament, he only endeavours to corrupt the institutions, and he only undermines the moral props of opinion

and authority; he only endeavours to taint the nobility; *he sells the Lords, and he buys the Commons.* The tree of nobility, that it may flourish for ever, and stand the blight of ministers, and the blast of popular fury,—that it may remain on its own hill, rejoicing and laughing to scorn that enemy which, in the person of the minister of the crown, has gone against the nobles of the land, —this is my earnest prayer—that those nobles may survive—survive to give counsel to these very ministers, and perhaps to pronounce judgment upon them. But if ever the axe should go into the forest,—if, on the tract of the merchantman in the shape of the minister, the political woodman in the shape of the leveller should follow,—*if the sale of peerages, as exercised by the present minister, becoming the ordinary resource of Government, should provoke a kindred spirit,* and give birth to a race of men as unprincipled and desperate in one extreme as they are in the other; we shall then feel it our duty to resist such an effort; and as we now resist the minister's attempts to dishonour, so shall we then resist the consequence of his crimes—projects to extinguish the nobility." *

The foreboding of Mr. Grattan was literally, singularly, and fatally fulfilled; and prior to the period of the Union, these characters appeared. The minister came in the *golden guise* of the

* Speeches, vol. ii. p. 286.

merchant-dealer, and the leveller came in the green garb of the woodman; and between both, the tree of the nobility and the constitution was felled to the ground. He spoke in 1790 with the spirit of prophecy; and in 1800, his words were unfortunately realised.

The following are the letters before referred to. Those who profited by them will easily recognise the names, though they may now blush to admit the services:—

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, Sept. 8, 1780.

My Lord,

Nothing could be more against my inclinations than the yielding to solicitations of gentlemen upon the line of peerage; but without engagements strongly to recommend several to that mark of his Majesty's favour at the close of the session, it would have been impossible for me in any sort to have surmounted the various difficulties which have lately attended Government.

I must, therefore, request, that your Lordship will submit the following names to his Majesty:—

Sir Robert Deane has uniformly, with four friends, supported his Majesty's measures, and *has never suggested a difficulty upon any occasion;* his property is very considerable.

Lord Chief Baron Dennis is recommended by Lord Shannon; but exclusive of that consideration, his abilities may be of great use in the House of Lords, especially as Lord Annaly has an asthmatic complaint, which renders his attendance precarious. He has no family, nor is there

any probability of his having any, and, upon the whole, I should think his appointment full as desirable to Government as it may be agreeable to himself.

My private wish would certainly influence in favour of Mr. Armar Lowry Corry; but his extensive property, *his having supported Government, though elected for the county of Tyrone by popular interest,* his having also induced another gentleman to follow his example, may give him some claim to his Majesty's favour.

Mr. Mathew is of a very ancient respectable family, and has upon every occasion supported his Majesty's Government. His brother-in-law, *through his means was induced to act the same part.*

Mr. Pomeroy was originally recommended by the Duke of Leinster; but at a time his Grace was undecided, he engaged, at all events, with his brother and his son, to support Government. The Duke of Leinster lately renewed the application in his favour.

Mr. Clements, the son of an old meritorious servant of the Crown, has a very considerable fortune, and has, with three friends, *supported Government, exclusive of his brother,* the Deputy Vice-Treasurer.

Mr. Knox, of Dungannon, is a gentleman of respectable family, with a very large property, and *has, with two sons, supported Government.* He was strongly recommended also by Colonel Burton.

There are some few promotions of peerage, which I would make the subject of another letter, but must remind your Lordship of Lord Farnham's earnest request, that his Majesty would consent to his being honoured with his late brother's earldom.

I hope that these several recommendations will meet with his Majesty's approbation, and receive your Lordship's support; and I am to request that your Lordship will be

pleased to signify to me his Majesty's pleasure concerning them, in order that I may transmit officially the necessary application accordingly.

I have the honour, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, Sept. 8, 1780.

MY LORD,

I could not transmit the recommendations for peerages for several gentlemen of this kingdom, contained in a letter to Lord North, of which I enclose your Lordship a copy, without communicating them to you, and requesting that your Lordship will give them a favourable support, as being conducive to his Majesty's service.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, Sept. 22, 1780.

MY LORD,

Among the gentlemen whom, in my letter to your Lordship of the 8th instant, I submitted to His Majesty for the dignity of peerage in this kingdom, I should have included William Tonson, Esq. for that honour, but that some matters which had been misconceived required first to be explained. That has since been done entirely to my satisfaction, and I request your Lordship will lay before His Majesty my humble recommendation, that Mr. Tonson may obtain this mark of his royal favour.

Mr. Tonson is a gentlemen of very considerable estate in this country, is zealously attached to His Majesty's person and Government, and has uniformly and steadily supported

Administration. He will bring a friend of Government into the House of Commons upon his being called up to the House of Peers. *He engages to bring into Parliament,* at the next general election, *any person nominated by Government, and he has signified to me his determination in future to give Administration the nomination of members for his Borough of Rathcormack,* until his sons shall be of an age to sit in Parliament.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, Oct. 18, 1780.

MY LORD,

Lord Naas, who is the eldest commissioner at the revenue board in this kingdom, is so enfeebled by age and ill health, that it cannot be expected he should exercise his office with that diligence and ability with which his services have hitherto been distinguished. He has been in that employment nearly thirty years, and has constantly approved himself, in both Houses of Parliament, the zealous servant of the Crown, and the attached friend of Government. These are *just titles for consideration,* and give him a claim to retire from business without any diminution of the income he enjoys, and with some distinguishing mark of the royal favour.

I therefore desire your Lordship to lay my humble recommendation before the King, that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to approve that Lord Naas be permitted to retire, upon a pension of one thousand and thirty-three pounds per annum, to commence from the time of his being succeeded in the office of a commissioner of the revenue,

and that His Majesty may advance him to the dignity of a Viscount of this kingdom.

And if His Majesty shall be pleased to consent thereto, I am further to desire your Lordship will lay before His Majesty my humble request, that His Majesty will be pleased to approve that Edward Tighe, Esq. be appointed one of the commissioners of the revenue here, in the room of Lord Naas. Mr. Tighe is a gentleman of family and extensive connexions, Member of Parliament for the Borough of Athboy, and loyally attached to His Majesty's person and Government. Of his abilities I will myself be an assurance, having had intimate knowledge of them in the services which he has rendered me as my private secretary, during the greater part of my residence in this kingdom.

Mr. Tighe is at present one of the Commissioners of Imprest Accounts, and Comptroller of the Pipe, in His Majesty's Court of Exchequer in this kingdom, which offices will enable me to gratify other gentlemen, *whose parliamentary services demand the attention of Government.*

I have, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

P. S.—I beg leave to mention to your Lordship that I shall in some short time take the liberty of recommending other promotions in the peerage, and that I do not intend that this letter should establish Lord Naas' station in the rank of Viscount.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, Oct. 24, 1780.

My Lord,

The following noblemen having distinguished themselves as *the zealous friends of His Majesty's Government, I think it my duty to prefer their applications,* that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to confer upon them an advancement of their rank in the peerage of this kingdom, and I do earnestly request accordingly, that His Majesty will permit me to recommend the Viscounts Mountcashel, Enniskillen, and Carlow, and Lord Farnham, to be created earls; and the Barons Desart, Lisle, Lifford, Erne, Bangor, Clifden, Naas, Doneraile, and Templetown, to be created Viscounts.

Lord Mountcashel is particularly recommended by Lord Ely, and *has constantly supported Government,* as have Lord Enniskillen and Lord Carlow. Lord Farnham's pretensions have already been stated to your Lordship. Lord Desart is *an active supporter of Government* in the House of Lords. Lord Lisle is strongly recommended by Lord Shannon; Lord Lifford's merits need not be repeated; Lord Erne engages *to bring a member of Parliament, to be recommended by Government, on the next general election, and will be responsible for the conduct of his brother,* who will then come into Parliament under his influence; *Lord Bangor's two sons came into the support of Administration on condition of this recommendation.* Lord Clifden has long and faithfully served the Crown. Lord Naas has already been recommended to your Lordship; Lord Doneraile's two sons have given their support in the House of Commons, and Lord Templetown is zealously attached, as are all those other noblemen to His Majesty's person, and Government.

And I also request His Majesty's permission to recommend that the Earl of Inchinquin, Lieutenant-general Robert Cunninghame, John O'Neil, Luke Gardiner, and Richard Townshend, Esqrs. be appointed of His Majesty's Privy Council in this kingdom.

I desire your Lordship will lay these my humble recommendations before the King, as being for His Majesty's service, and that your Lordship will be pleased to signify to me his royal pleasure thereupon.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 19, 1780.

MY LORD,

You will accept of my thanks for inducing Lord Carlisle to defer his journey till the 10th. I take it for granted that I shall soon be favoured with His Majesty's pleasure respecting the bishoprics; the livings to be vacated in consequence of which, are very particularly called for. I must entreat your Lordship to lay my humble thanks before His Majesty, *expressive of the most unshaken loyalty and zealous attachment for his gracious condescension in accepting so many of my recommendations to the peerage, and advancement in rank*, and as soon as I can obtain the new titles of each person, I will immediately transmit them, officially, to your Lordship.

With respect to the noblemen and gentlemen whose requests have not succeeded, I must say that no man can see the inconvenience of increasing the number of peers more forcibly than myself, *but the recommendations of many of those persons submitted to His Majesty for that honour, arose* FROM ENGAGEMENTS TAKEN UP AT THE PRESS OF THE

MOMENT, TO SECURE QUESTIONS UPON WHICH THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT WERE VERY PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS. My sentiments cannot but be the same with respect to the Privy Council and pensions, and *I had not contracted any absolute engagements of recommendation either to peerage or pension,* TILL DIFFICULTIES AROSE which necessarily occasioned so much and so forcibly communicated anxiety in His Majesty's Cabinet, that *I must have been culpable in* NEGLECTING ANY POSSIBLE MEANS OF SECURING A MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. Mr. Townshend was particularly recommended to me by Lord Shannon for a seat in the Privy Council, and I have reason to think his Lordship is extremely anxious for his success.

My disappointment in the arrangement of the revenue board is the less, as it is agreeable to your wishes. I suppose Colonel Ross is to vacate his present office, which will enable me to make a provision for Colonel Sandford, who, if my arrangements should be rejected, will otherwise be again disappointed. I understand that Mr. Hamilton is not in any immediate danger. With respect to Mr. Lees, I can have no objection to him, but as he was always considered as a person provided for, other gentlemen would have claims upon me in preference to him. Should the vacancy however happen during my time, it shall be left open for him, and with a firm persuasion, that an early opportunity will be taken of providing for the gentlemen whom otherwise it would be natural for me to have thought of. The only offices of any importance I have had to dispose of since the opening of this critical session, are a commissioner of the revenue board, and a commissioner of accounts. The favour to Colonel Stopford arose from his disappointment in an office struck off the establishment, till which time he stood in the same predicament as, from a similar circumstance, Colonel Sandford now remains.

Your Lordship seems so far sensible of my situation, that you will not expect either a long or a well digested letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 19, 1780.

MY LORD,

I have transmitted by the messenger an official letter to the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury, recommending several pensions upon the civil establishment of this kingdom.

As that despatch merely specifies the sums for which the respective persons are recommended, I think it my duty to state fully to your Lordship their services and pretensions, in order to satisfy your Lordship that in submitting these my humble requests to His Majesty, it is my principal object to promote his general public service, by representing those who have supported His Majesty's measures, or grown old in discharge of their duty, as fit objects for the royal consideration and bounty.

In speaking of the several persons, I shall beg leave to follow the order in which they stand in my official dispatch.

James Carigue Ponsonby, Esq.—This gentleman bought his seat in Parliament, and in the contest for the Speaker's Chair offered his vote to Lord Harcourt, in favour of Mr. Pery, on condition he should represent his conduct to His Majesty, *hoping it might be kept in account when he should on some future day be thought deserving of His Majesty's favour.* This request was complied with by Lord Harcourt, as will appear by his Lordship's letter to Lord Weymouth, of the 11th September, 1776; and as this gentleman's conduct in support of Government has been

very uniform and honourable during my Administration, and I have not been able to provide for him in the line of office agreeably to the expectations which had been given him, I am induced to hope His Majesty will consider him as a worthy object of his royal bounty.

Charles Henry Coote, Esq. son to Deane Coote.—This gentleman is member for the Queen's County, and has generally, during the present Parliament, supported His Majesty's measures, but in the last session, *when it became difficult for members of counties to give an uniform support,* I promised Mr. Coote to recommend him to His Majesty for this favour, in the manner specified in my official letter, if there should not be an opportunity for my gratifying him with some civil employment, *upon the terms of his giving a consistent support to Government, which he has very honourably performed.*

Francis Bernard Beamish, Esq. was brought into Parliament, for the Borough of Rathcormack, by Mr. Tonson, in conjunction with whom he has uniformly supported His Majesty's measures. In the session, 1777, Mr. Tonson having resigned the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Cork, I gave Mr. Beamish assurance of a civil employment; and not having found it in my power to provide for him in that mode, I promised to recommend him to His Majesty for this mark of the royal favour.

Ponsonby Tottenham, Esq. nephew to the Earl of Ely.—His father and two brothers are in Parliament, and, with him, have been constant supporters of His Majesty's Government.

James Sommerville, Esq. member of Parliament for the Borough of New Town, which seat he purchased. Before the opening of the last session, Mr. Sommerville *offered his support, which he has most uniformly given, upon the assurance of some provision.* He was formerly in business

as a merchant, but unsuccessful; and being in distressed circumstances, and no opportunities offering of providing him with office, I am induced to recommend him for His Majesty's bounty.

William Caulfield, Esq., member for the Borough of Tulsk, who has the collection of Donaghadee, and keeping house at the Capeland Isle, worth about 300*l.* per annum, which he will resign to accommodate government. He was formerly an officer in the army, in which service, and in the revenue, he has been upwards of forty years. Mr. Caulfield has been a constant and uniform supporter of government, and is most zealously attached to His Majesty's service.

Thomas Nesbitt, Esq., member for the Borough of Cavan. This gentleman was early recommended to me for some mark of favour by the late Attorney-General, and he has been a constant supporter of government; and as I have not been able to provide for him in office, and he has represented to me that the expense of living in Dublin during the session is distressing to him, I have recommended him to His Majesty for this small pension, his father having already a pension of 600*l.* a-year.

James Sheil, Esq., one of the Commissioners of Appeals, is an old servant of the crown, and when in Parliament, constantly supported government. His distresses at present prevent him from executing his office, which I have given to Mr. Tydd, member for Maryborough, who supported government during the present session, upon a promise of being promoted on the first vacancy of this Board. Mr. Sheil has been recommended to me in his unfortunate situation, as a proper object of His Majesty's bounty.

Robert Sibthorpe, Esq., one of His Majesty's counsel in this kingdom, and President at the General Quarter

Sessions of the County of Dublin, with a salary of 200*l.* a year. As the present distressed state of this gentleman's circumstances does not allow of his executing this office in person, and the service of the county requires it to be performed by a gentleman of practice and ability in the law, I am induced to recommend Mr. Sibthorpe for His Majesty's bounty, and intend appointing as his successor, with an additional salary of 300*l.* a-year, Mr. Toler, the member for Tralee, who supported His Majesty's measures during the last session with great zeal and firmness, and will, I have no doubt, from his abilities and knowledge, give very great satisfaction to the County of Dublin. An official application for the additional salary accompanies this letter.

Sir Boyle Roche, member of Parliament for the Borough of Gowran, which seat he purchased, with a view to support government, to which he is most zealously attached.

Edward Bulkely, Esq., was formerly joined with his uncle the late Michael Clarke, Esq., in the office of agent for the half-pay officers, worth about 600*l.* per annum, which office, upon Mr. Clarke's demise, he enjoyed for some time solely, but in Lord Harcourt's administration, it was given to Sir William Montgomery for the accommodation of government, and a pension granted Mr. Bulkely, of two hundred and fifty pounds a-year, which not being equal to the income of his office, the present sum is recommended to make up the deficiency.

The Honourable John Evans is brother to Lord Carberry, and was formerly collector of Loughrea, but his extreme ill state of health disabling him from executing his office, he resigned it in hopes of receiving some provision from government.

Mrs. Elizabeth Jebb, wife of Dr. Frederick Jebb,* a phy-

* This is the person about whom the anecdote was related by Mr.

sician of this town, and author of the letters which appeared in the beginning of the last session under the signature of Guatimozin, and other political productions. As the press was exceedingly violent at that time, and had great effect in inflaming the minds of the people, *it was recommended to me as a measure of absolute necessity, by some means, if possible, to check its spirit.* On this, a negotiation was opened with Dr. Jebb, who was then the chief of the political writers, and he agreed upon the terms of my recommending him for a pension of 300*l.* a-year to give his assistance to government; since that time he has been very useful, as well by suppressing inflammatory publications, as by writing and other services which he promises to continue to the extent of his power.

Dame Jane Heron.—I some time since appointed Sir Richard Heron, my chief secretary, to the office of searcher, packer, and guager at Cork, the value of which, upon an average of the last seven years, is about 700*l.*, although the years since the war have been higher than that average, and in order to make it equal to what his Majesty has been graciously pleased to consider as a proper recompense to the chief secretary of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for his discharge of that very laborious and arduous station, I have, at Sir Richard Heron's desire, requested that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to grant this pension to Lady Heron. I have, by the same messenger, transmitted to their Lordships a recommendation that the pensions upon the civil establishment, of Guy Moore Coote, be transferred to his wife Mrs. Mary Coote. This gentleman has always voted with government, and as this was the only request he made, I was induced to comply with it.

Grattan. He first wrote for the people. The effect of Castle influence will in this case clearly be seen.

Their Lordships will receive a third letter, recommending Joseph Sirr, Esq. for a military pension. Mr. Sirr served many years in the army, and some time ago, in the office of sheriff of this county, was of singular service to government. He has long executed the office of Deputy Judge Advocate, the emoluments of which amounted to the sum of 150*l.* per annum, but having lately lost his sight, is incapable of any longer discharging that duty. His great age, added to his long and faithful services, render him a very worthy object of the royal favour.

The messenger carries with him another letter recommending pensions to Henry Meredyth, Esq., in trust for his nieces Letitia Meredyth, and Judith Woodward, and a further separate application for pensions for Robert and George Gamble, and Mr. Edward Sterling. The reasons which have induced me to make these requests are fully set forth in the letters severally recommending them.

I have also made my humble request to His Majesty through their Lordships, that the salary of 150*l.* a-year, placed on the civil establishment, for the Honourable John Butler, as clerk of the pipe, may be continued to him and his son Humphrey Butler, during His Majesty's pleasure, on their being joined in that office. Mr. Butler is great uncle to the present Lord Lanesborough, has been a very old servant to government, and is most zealously attached to His Majesty's person and government.

I cannot sufficiently express to your Lordship, with how much reluctance I state these several requests, but I am driven to this necessity, *not having any other means of gratifying the expectations of gentlemen who engaged in the service of government through this long and arduous session.* The civil patronage never was so slender as during my administration, and the only two capital offices which fell since my coming to this kingdom (the secretaryship of state, and

that of deputy vice-treasurer) were both engaged by my predecessors. I do not mention the late Sir Henry Cavendish's office, as, though he died after my nomination, Lord Harcourt was still in the possession of the government.

I cannot therefore forbear expressing my humble hopes that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant these several requests, and flatter myself, that when your Lordship shall lay them before the king, they will be honoured by your support.

If my recommendation respecting Lord Shannon and Mr. Foster is accepted of, it will enable me to make an advancement for a gentleman whom Lord Shannon particularly protects, and in succession for Mr. Howard, brother to Lord Clonmore, who, with another brother of his Lordship's, have uniformly supported government upon every occasion. The office also of the provost's son, whom I did not choose to remove, though his office is within my department, till I knew your Lordship's sentiments with respect to his father,—would enable me to fulfil another engagement, and in succession to take off some of the pensions, a species of provision which of all others gives the greatest dissatisfaction here.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

CHAPTER IX.

Impoverished and depressed state of Ireland.—Changes in the European world.—Character of the Irish volunteers—the salvation of Ireland.—New administration.—Retirement of Sir Robert Heron.—Succeeded by Mr. Eden.—Lord Carlisle.—Plans and conduct of the new Irish Government.—Corruption and bribery.—Sir Samuel Bradstreet the Recorder.—Partial success of Eden in reducing the opposition.—Mr. Flood's resignation and dismissal from the Council Board.—Demonstration of the volunteers.—Lord Charlemont appointed their General.—Approaching dangers of the Empire.—Dread of invasion.—The volunteers.—Meeting of the House.—Irish Navy.—Mr. Yelverton.—Mr. Grattan's motion for repeal of Mutiny Bill.—Lost by a large majority.—His pamphlet on the subject.—Answer to it by Dr. Jebb.—Profligate use of the public money.—1781.—Mr. Flood's motion on the Mutiny Bill.—The Attorney-General's humourous allusion to Mr. Flood, and his reply.—Poyning's law.—Anecdote of Mr. Yelverton.—The Roman Catholic Bill.—Mr. Grattan's reasons for supporting it.—Father O'Leary.—Mr. Flood's opposition to the Catholic claims.—Question of trade with Portugal.—The Habeas Corpus Bill.

THE extraordinary letters cited in the preceding chapter; the unconstitutional measures suggested; the rewards for political services recommended and adopted; and the opposition of Government to every measure of redress and retrenchment, show the fatuity and folly, as well as the corruption and violence, of the British ministry, by whose impolicy the country was

reduced to the extremity of distress and discontent. In fact, it may be said, that the island had become so impoverished by the corruption, profusion, and profligacy of her Viceroys, that she was unable even to bear the pensioned gentry. Her revenues had gone back, her debts were increasing, her taxes were unable to support the prodigality, and the people unable to bear the taxes. The country having been called upon to assist in the American war, which, by her disapprobation, she might have determined, and having in consequence lost the linen-trade and the provision-trade, her chief source of subsistence was wholly cut off. The army was called on to continue the madness of the minister, and, in consequence, the nation had no defence left her against foreign invasion; so that the British policy took defence from one part of the King's dominions, in order to take liberty from the other.

By these frantic proceedings, by the lofty pride of the British cabinet, and the impotency of the Irish Government, these two great limbs of the empire,—Ireland and the American colonies,—were endangered. In short, the ministers would have completed the subversion of the liberties of Ireland, had they not been destined to extinguish the empire of Great Britain; and Ireland owed her very being to their defeats and disgraces by sea and land. The success of their arms, and the rapid march of their armies, were always marked

by signal depredations on the rights and privileges of Ireland. She counted her grievances with the number of their victories; and every blow they gave to the enemy, was a deadly wound to the rights of Ireland.

At length, however, a rapid train of events had changed the condition of the world, and of Ireland along with it: she not only rose in a positive, but a comparative sense; not only from the inability of England to defend her, but from her ability to defend herself. By an immense army, and the form of a much greater one, composed of different religions, but one political faith, kept up for three years, enforcing the law, *protecting the Government*, increasing in numbers, improving in discipline, formed of materials where every soldier had a common interest, but a separate honour;—where the soldier was a chartered citizen, and that citizen pledged to God and his country, to support his charter to the last drop of his blood.* "Wonderful formation,—the noblest of national institutions,—that cheap defence of nations,—the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise,—that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour, which felt a stain like a wound; inspiring courage while it mitigated ferocity, and ennobling whatsoever it touched." Justly may we apply

* Lord Sheffield, in his pamphlet in 1785, says of them, "A phenomenon now appeared, the like of which had never yet been seen in any country."

the celebrated words of Edmund Burke to the volunteers of Ireland;—the lilies of the beauteous queen of France, bedewed with the tears of the most eloquent of Irishmen, form a fitting wreath to hang o'er the grave of that gallant and patriotic body.

> Fortunati ambo, si quid mea carmina possunt
> Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo.

Had these men been furious in their resolutions, or licentious in their habits, their dissolution had been speedy, and their operations nothing; but, in their tempered zeal, their steady moderation, their sobriety, their alacrity to assist the civil power, their readiness to march at the order of Government, their applicability to all the purposes of the country, the lesser office of the civil power, and the great outline of defence, there was a serious, useful, irresistible principle, which secured continuation to their existence, and success to all their operations—something which reconciled the fears of the timid, and silenced the murmurs even of the courtier,—the power which wished their dissolution, but acknowledged their protection. In the summer of 1780, when they espoused the Declaration of Right, they exhorted the friends of their country in addresses, filled with Roman fire.* In the summer

* See Appendix for these, in particular, to Lord Charlemont, and his replies.

of 1781, they had their provincial reviews on a large scale, and with great expense; they passed addresses, expressing a humble hope, that the constitution of their country would be completely emancipated. At that particular time, they heard of an intended invasion, and on the moment, offered their lives and services; they struck their tents, shouldered their firelocks, and prepared to march. Where a nation is defended by mercenary troops, she finds, in the means of defence, the source of oppression; but when an armed community are the life-guard of the State, her freedom flows from her existence, and as they are the defenders of their country, so they will prove the redeemers of her constitution.

The character of this illustrious body of men is finely described by Mr. Grattan: one passage is worthy of particular attention:—*

"Let the youth of the country go to the grave of the volunteer; *it is at the tomb of departed patriotism, where youth is to be trained to virtue!* Let them frequent that grave;—there the garland will be green, and the warm heart, and the tears of the nation will be there; *and, from a due contemplation of the great inhabitant of that tomb, let them collect a conscious elevation of soul, and a prouder sense of existence!!!*"

In December, 1780, the new administration

* Mr. Grattan's Miscellaneous Works, vol. v. p. 76.

commenced; but the plan which had been previously acted on was not changed; the same determined opposition was given to public measures.

Sir Richard Heron retired from the Secretaryship. He had proved himself a well-intentioned and quiet character; and, placed in an arduous situation, and at a critical period, he had conducted himself with propriety, and without offence. Mr. Eden succeeded him. Both he and Lord Carlisle were men of birth, of taste, and of accomplishments; they were literary, as well as political characters. The latter had been educated at Eton, with Charles Fox and the Duke of Leinster. He inherited a taste for poetry from his mother, Isabella Byron, who was the authoress of a poem, entitled the "Fairy's Answer." He wrote a translation of Dante; an ode on the death of Gray; and some fugitive pieces.

The Secretary, Mr. Eden, was the author of some letters on the subject of Ireland;—a controversial pamphlet, in answer to Dr. Price;—and other works. These individuals had been sent over as Commissioners to America, in 1778, to try and restore peace to the Colonies; and having failed there, they were sent to Ireland, where they were equally unfortunate. Neither of them was fit for the situation. Mr. Eden's line was quietude; but he mistook it. He was

certainly a good negociator, and a most able man to converse with in private; but he was a bad public speaker. He possessed great dexterity, and an address that was surprising; but his plan was bad: he sought to enlist a troop of young men in his service, who were to carry on his administration with a show of spirit, and by dint of money. He resorted to every art to soften and seduce the patriots of the day, and he nearly won round some of their leaders.* In short, by putting the question directly to some, and using skilful management with others, Mr. Eden reduced the opposition to about 39. But that was his bourne; he could go no farther; he had not sagacity enough to see that there are times when corruption may succeed, but there are other periods when it will do great mischief, and be attended by signal discomfiture; —to the minister, disgraceful;—to the nation, destructive.

The people seeing this, took courage. They came to the galleries of the House of Commons, which then were capable of containing upwards

* Mr. Eden's great stumbling-block was said to have been Sir Samuel Bradstreet, the Recorder, who never could be prevailed upon to speak openly for the Government party, although he was persuaded not to oppose them. So that Sir Samuel's merit consisted merely in running away: which was not a very easy thing for him to do, as he was perhaps the largest man in the three kingdoms. The Government called him "*slippery Sam,*" *and complained that he always contrived to get through their fingers.*

of 700 individuals; they listened to the great questions which were then brought forward; they saw how few men of spirit supported them, and were determined not to let their questions be sold; and it is probable, they would have compelled Mr. Eden's administration to yield, if it had not before-hand broken down.

Mr. Flood resigned his situation as Vice-Treasurer; and the first step by the Government was, to dismiss him from his seat at the Council-Board. He complained, and justly, of this to the House, and inveighed strongly against the treatment which, as a public man, he had received; he stated, that he "was dismissed from his office for his Parliamentary conduct,—not by his sovereign, but by men who had disgraced his councils."

This violent proceeding was held out, *in terrorem*, to the leaders of the people, and plainly indicated how little the country had to expect. The volunteers, however, were not dismayed, nor did they relax in their efforts. They complained of the conduct of some of their representatives in their resolutions; they urged on others, and pressed them in their addresses to support the popular questions in Parliament.

In the months of June, July, and August, they held provincial reviews with great splendour; their regiments appeared fully accoutred with knapsacks, tents, and camp equipage; and such was

the spirit of the time, that one of the Dublin corps of artillery marched to Belfast, to assist at the review which was held there, and which lasted for three successive days. It was computed that upwards of 60,000 spectators were assembled on the occasion. Thus was the prophecy of the late Viceroy refuted, who told the English Ministry that the volunteers would soon dissolve, and that their avocations or their apathy would prevail over their love of their country; but these were the words of a courtier, who knew not the feeling of liberty.

The volunteers appointed Lord Charlemont a second time their general and leader, and the following was their address, and his answer;—a document worthy to be preserved in the records of Irish history, on account of the spirit it breathes, and the principles it recommends.

July 21, 1781.

At a Meeting of the Officers and Deputies of the Volunteer Corps reviewed at Belfast, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th days of July instant, Colonel Dawson in the Chair:—The following Resolution was unanimously agreed to:—That the Chairman do present to the Reviewing General, the Right Hon. the Earl of Charlemont, the following Address:—

My Lord,

It is with the most heartfelt pleasure that we embrace this, our second opportunity, of addressing your Lordship, in that language of esteem, respect, and veneration, which

we think due to your Lordship's exalted character, and which we feel heightened by the happy conclusion of that glorious display of arms and freedom, which the late review has afforded to so many thousands of admiring citizens.

We feel with gratitude the readiness and politeness with which your Lordship complied with our wishes to be reviewed by your Lordship; we also thank your Lordship for the trouble you have taken in communicating to us the sentiments of the gentlemen of the Lawyers' Corps.

We entertain not a doubt that, in every situation, the Volunteer Corps of this country, and of the whole kingdom, will behave and conduct themselves as they have hitherto done, in a manner suitable to the character of good citizens and true friends to their country.

THOMAS DAWSON, Chairman.

To which his Lordship was pleased to give the following Answer:—

GENTLEMEN,

When, in consequence of the honour of your choice, I was last year witness to the amazing exertions of my brave and virtuous countrymen—when I beheld in the field a *powerful army, self-raised, self-clothed, self-paid, and disciplined by its own efforts*—my astonishment was so great, and my satisfaction so perfect, that with difficulty I found words to express my sentiments upon the interesting occasion, or to return due thanks for the happiness afforded me, and the high honours conferred upon me. What, then, gentlemen, must be my present situation? How can I expect to find expressions adequate to explain the feelings of my heart, when my obligations are redoubled by this, your second election, and when the great efforts of last year are obliterated and lost in the miraculous exertions which I have now beheld—*when your numbers are increased two-*

fold, and your discipline is brought to a degree of perfection, which the most experienced veteran must admire? Silent astonishment can alone express my admiration—heart-felt gratitude must stand in the place of thanks!

Such are my sentiments, when I reflect on your goodness towards me—such are my feelings upon the bare contemplation of your strength and military skill. But how are these sentiments exalted, when I consider the glorious purpose which has called you together, and for the attainment of which you have cheerfully submitted to every inconvenience incident to the self-raised soldier; when I reflect on the effects which your associations have already produced, and upon those which must follow from that perseverance of which there can now be no shadow of doubt; when, in the midst of war, and that, too, accompanied by circumstances of the most alarming nature, *I behold my country fearless of invasion, formidable to her enemies, respected by her sister kingdom, and an object of veneration to all Europe;* when, in this unhappy period of general confusion, I behold, under the influence of your arms, *internal tranquillity restored, the due execution of the laws firmly established, commerce released from those unworthy chains by which she had been so long and so unjustly bound, and constitutional freedom emerging from that dark abyss into which she has been plunged by lawless and absurd oppression on the one hand, and by folly and corruption on the other.*

Go on, then, my virtuous countrymen; persevere in the line which you have hitherto pursued; continue to join every virtue of peace to all the abilities of war; let your prudence be animated by patriotic zeal, and your spirit, as heretofore, be regulated by cautious wisdom, and by a thorough sense of all your duties as citizens;—go on; persevere; *oppression is impossible, and Ireland must be happy!*

Such, gentlemen, are the sentiments of my heart, which I have now laid before you, as an offering far more acceptable to you, than a vain effort to express my gratitude by a useless profusion of thanks: I say useless, because I am confident that, knowing the benefits you have bestowed on our country, and the honours you have heaped on me, and thinking of my heart, as I hope and trust you do, you cannot for a moment doubt how ardently and sincerely I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obliged, faithful,

And humble obedient servant,

CHARLEMONT.

At length, the public calamities that visited the empire, began to be felt; and they operated in favour of Ireland. Affairs in America wore a gloomy aspect, and ended in the capture of Lord Cornwallis and the British army, towards the close of the year. The Channel trade was threatened by the enemy, and in June, Government thought it necessary to appoint convoys for vessels trading between England and Ireland. In September thirty-four sail of the combined fleet appeared in the Channel, and some of them approached the south coast of Ireland, where, at that period, there were but five weak regiments of cavalry, and seven of infantry. Accordingly, the volunteers made a tender of their services to Government, offering to march on the shortest notice. The Lord Lieutenant received the offer with

courtesy, but with coldness, avoiding, as far as possible, all recognition, or even mention of them, in their military capacity.*

The House met on the 9th of October, when the usual address was delivered, but no mention was made of the volunteer army by name; no Lord Lieutenant or Secretary ever introduced this word in any public document; such was their real dread of an armed people, or their pretended respect for the constitution.

The Recorder having complained of the deserted state in which the country was left, was asked by Mr. Fitzgibbon, in an angry manner, whether he meant to pledge the House to maintain an Irish navy. Mr. Yelverton retorted on this remark, with merited severity, and, with a feeling of natural pride, asking, "And why not an Irish navy,—under the command of the executive of Ireland? *We pay the King the hereditary revenue for our protection, while we are left abandoned;* we pay it expressly for the purpose of protecting our trade, while the money is applied to the Pension List, to reward those who vote against the interests of the nation."

The next day thanks were voted to the volunteer corps "for the continuation of their efforts in defence of the country, and for their spirited offer

* Their address, and the names of some of the corps who offered their assistance, will be found in the Appendix.

to Government on the late alarm of a hostile invasion."

On the 13th of November, 1781, Mr. Grattan renewed his efforts for a repeal of the Mutiny Bill, and moved for leave to bring in Heads of a Bill to amend, explain, and limit an Act, entitled, "An Act for the better accommodation and regulation of his Majesty's Army in this kingdom:" in this he was seconded by Mr. Flood. This circumstance of his early acquaintance seconding and watching his motion, had roused him to great exertion; but, besides this incentive, he had taken great pains with the subject, knowing that there were several competitors eagerly if not jealously observing him, and awaiting the result; and aware that if he lost ground, he would sink in public opinion. When the debate came on, he was listened to with profound attention, and spoke with complete success. The motion was strongly supported by Messrs. Isaac Corry, G. P. Bushe, Daly, Burgh, Yelverton, and Fitzgibbon; it was opposed by Mr. Foster, Mr. Langrishe, Mr. Eden, the Secretary, Mr. Hutchinson, the Provost, and Scott, the Attorney-General. The numbers were, 177 against and 33 only for Mr. Grattan's motion.

On this occasion, Mr. Grattan published a pamphlet entitled, "Observations on the Mutiny Bill."* It went rapidly through several editions,

* See Vol. V. of Mr. Grattan's Miscellaneous Works.

and excited so great a sensation, that Government employed Dr. Jebb to reply to it. This reply may have been a fulfilment of his agreement with Government; but it was no answer to or refutation of the argument. Several years afterwards he met Mr. Grattan in private, and remarked how much he was indebted to him, for, that through his means he had obtained 300*l.* a-year—that the Government had employed him in 1781 to reply to his pamphlet on the Mutiny Bill, and they had rewarded him for his labours with this annuity; but he added that it was no answer whatever.

This mode of recompense appears in the letter of Lord Buckingham to the British Minister, when he asks for a pension for the wife of this individual for his literary services. Thus were the people not only deprived of their rights, but taxed in order to pay a rent-charge to those who wrote against their liberties; and thus Government pensioned a press to write down public virtue; —striving to corrupt the understanding of the country, as their Treasury was employed to corrupt her principles. State annuities were paid for composing Arcadian dialogues on trade, and sentimental essays on bribery and corruption, consisting of rank principles, set forth in flimsy composition.

On the 29th November, Mr. Flood proposed a resolution regarding the Mutiny Bill. "That a law of indefinite duration, with the aid of the

hereditary revenue, was repugnant to the principles of the British constitution." Mr. Flood was, however, induced to withdraw this, and moved, that leave be given to bring in "Heads of a Bill for punishing Mutiny and Desertion; and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters."

The abrupt manner of bringing forward this question, which had originally been proposed by Mr. Bushe, and seconded by his relation Mr. Grattan, occasioned some disagreement between the former and Mr. Flood, and gave rise to the humorous story of Harry Plantagenet, related by the Attorney-General, who thus alluded to Mr. Flood's jealousy in taking questions out of the hands of other members. The motion was lost by 146 to 66.

The Attorney-General, Mr. Scott, said, "there is no similitude between the present times and those to which the Right Honourable Gentleman has alluded; nor is there any reason for his frequent mention of corruption; if a rebellion should be raised, no man possesses more ability to support it; if stopped, no man possesses greater abilities to allay it; thus powerful as he is, I hope he will consider the people, and that his wrath may not be like that of Achilles, only to be appeased by the blood of his country. I perceive we are all growing warm, and if the House will permit me, I shall tell you a story which may

help to bring us into better temper. When I was at the Temple, there was a parish-clerk that used to raise the psalm, and who went by the name of Harry Plantagenet. I had taken it into my head, that the family of Plantagenets was quite extinct, and was induced, by curiosity, to ask this man how he came to be called by that name? Accordingly, I went to him one day, and mentioned my wish to know his story. 'I was once a king, Sir,' said he, 'and reigned with uncontrolled dominion over hounds and greyhounds—beagles and terriers, by which I have acquired this name; but, if you please, I will relate my story at large.' '*Go on, Harry,*' *said I.* 'I lived in the neighbourhood of Windsor Forest when a boy, and used frequently to divert myself with hunting the King's deer, for I always loved to hunt the King's deer.' '*Go on, Harry,*' *said I.* 'I hallooed and I shouted so loud, and so often, that there was not a dog of the pack but obeyed my voice, nor a lad in the forest but attended my call.' '*Go on, Harry,*' *said I.* 'At length, the chief huntsman perceiving what command I had over the dogs and the sportsmen, resolved to take me into his pay.' '*Go on, Harry,*' *said I.* 'I accepted his offer, but soon found myself so much at ease, that I grew indolent, and insisted upon riding out to hunt in *furniture;* for I always loved to *hunt in furniture.*' '*Go on, Harry,*' *said I.* 'I was indulged with furniture; but I soon perceived that

the younger fellows, who would now outride me, became greater favourites with the chief huntsman.' '*Go on, Harry,' said I.* 'This stung me to the quick, and I determined to pick a quarrel about some of the fringe of my furniture, which was torn, and which I would have repaired at the chief huntsman's expense.' '*Go on, Harry.*' '*I immediately began to hunt in opposition;* but not a dog obeyed me, not a sportsman attended to my call.' '*Go on, Harry.*' 'I hallooed, and I roared and I shouted, until I was weary, but still without any effect. I had the mortification to find that I had totally lost my influence in the Forest, and I retired to this parish, to devote the rest of my days to the making of my soul, and I now raise the psalm, and join in the thanksgiving.' This, Sir, is the story of Harry Plantagenet, and his story I would apply to any one who cannot be quiet without expense, or angry without rebellion."

To this humorous sally, Mr. Flood replied—"I cannot perceive the smallest similitude between this story and my situation, except that my name is '*Harry.*' I have, indeed, been a huntsman, but then I was never *a whipper-in;* but the Right Honourable Gentleman has the happy talent of turning every thing to his advantage—when he became an object of popular resentment, he traversed the street with a guard—he looked melancholy at the bar—he sighed in the House and in

the Council, and blubbered in the anti-chamber—the people were astonished — the women went into mourning—Government thought all her functions were suspended, and nothing could allay the general concern, *but a plentiful reversion* for the Right Honourable Gentleman. When the fleets of England, at a great expense, made a number of little descents on the French coast last war, it was wittily said, we were breaking panes of glass with guineas, and though his house is filled with the most elegant and richest furniture, yet I will venture to say, that no part of it cost so much as the *crown glass* with which his windows were repaired."

The same course which was pursued by Mr. Flood towards Mr. Bushe on the question of the Mutiny Bill, was also adopted on the subject of Poyning's law, towards Mr. Yelverton. He was to have brought on the question on the 4th of December, but in consequence of the defeat and capture of Lord Cornwallis's army in America, he changed this to an Address to His Majesty, expressive of their zeal for the honour of the Crown, and the prosperity of the British Empire; which Address being carried, Mr. Flood declared that he would, in the ensuing week, bring forward the question of the Law of Poyning's. Accordingly on the 11th he proposed to appoint a "Committee to examine precedents and records to explain the Law of Poyning's,"

and next to declare, from the report of the committee, "what the Law of Poyning's and the Constitution of the Country actually were."

Mr. Yelverton, conceiving that he was ill-treated on this occasion, alluded to Mr. Flood's conduct,—his silence for several years past, and his abandonment of this very question,—and observed, that "although Mr. Flood might not allow him to have any knowledge of the constitutional law, he would allow him to know something of criminal law; he therefore begged to say, that if any man marries a wife, and lives with her in constancy, it is a crime to take her away from him; but if a man shall separate from his wife, desert her, *and abandon her for seven years*, another may then take her up, and give her his protection."

Mr. Yelverton, notwithstanding this disagreement, gave his full support to the motion of Mr. Flood, but it was rejected by a majority of 139 to 67.

The next important subject that was proposed was the Roman Catholic Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Gardiner: it was to restore the Catholics to the enjoyment of property, the free exercise of their religion, education, marriage, and self-defence.

To this question, from its beginning to its close, Mr. Grattan gave his most strenuous support. He observed, "I give my consent to the

Bill, in its *principle, extent,* and *boldness.* I give my consent to it as the most likely means of obtaining a victory over the *prejudices of the Catholics,* and *over our own:* I give my consent to it because I would not keep two millions of my fellow-subjects in a state of slavery, and because, as the mover of the *Declaration of Rights,* I would be ashamed of giving *freedom* to but six hundred thousand of my countrymen, when I could extend it to two millions more."

It was in the debate on this Bill that Doctor O'Leary's* name was introduced. He had been of much service by his writings and exhortations to concord, at a time when attempts were made to sow dissension between Catholic and Protestant, and destroy the harmony that then subsisted in Ireland, and which Lord Charlemont refers to in his letters to Mr. Flood.†

* This talented person was an Irishman, not only in name *but in sentiment and spirit;* he lived to an advanced age in London with his intimate friend, Colonel O'Kelly, well known in the sporting world for his celebrated horse Eclipse, as the other was in the literary world for his writings, and for his reply to the Protestant divine, to whom, on the subject of their controversy, that of *purgatory,* he wittily observed, "*he might go further and fare worse.*" Colonel O'Kelly related that at the period of the Union Mr. Pitt offered a considerable pension to O'Leary, provided he would exert himself among his Roman Catholic countrymen, and *write in support of the Union,* but every application was in vain; O'Leary steadfastly resisted Mr. Pitt's solicitations, and though poor, he rejected the offers of the minister, and could not be seduced from his allegiance to his country.

† See volume of Letters of Henry Flood to Lord Charlemont and Lord Chandos.—London edition.

Mr. Grattan said, he "could not hear the name of Father O'Leary mentioned, without paying him that tribute of acknowledgment so justly due to his merit. At the time that this man lay under the censure of a law, which in his own country made him subject to transportation or death, from religious distinctions—at the time that a prince of his own religion threatened this country with invasion—this respectable character took up his pen, unsolicited, and without a motive but that of real patriotism, to urge his own communion to a disposition of peace, and to support the law which had sentenced him to transportation. A man of learning, a philosopher, a Franciscan, did the most eminent service to his country in the hour of its greatest danger. He brought out a publication that would do honour to the most celebrated name. The whole kingdom must bear witness of its effect, by the reception they gave it. Poor in every thing but genius and philosophy, he had no property at stake, no family to fear for; but descending from the contemplation of wisdom, and abandoning the ornaments of fancy, he humanely undertook the task of conveying duty and instruction to the lowest class of the people. If I did not know him to be a Christian clergyman, I should suppose him, by his works, to be a philosopher of the Augustan age."

On this subject, it is much to be regretted that a man of such ability as Mr. Flood should have

taken a view hostile to the rights of his countrymen. He deprecated giving the Roman Catholics equal power with the Protestants, and asked this trite question,—"If you do, can a *Protestant* constitution survive?" In this mistaken view he was supported unfortunately by Lord Charlemont, as appears from his letter to Mr. Flood, in Jan. 1782, where he says, "the House is running mad on the subject of popery;" but he adds, that "he had not yet made up his mind upon Gardiner's Bill," fearing, as he says, "*the ruin of that growing coalescence which was beginning to take place among men of all persuasions.*"

It is certain that attempts were made to sow divisions between the two parties; and as before stated, this effort was in a great degree suppressed by the aid of Dr. O'Leary's writings. Government, too, had not yet become active adepts in the art of sowing religious dissensions; they were sufficiently occupied by their civil discords, and the task was left to their successors, who, it may be said, have exceeded their most sanguine expectations.

The part which Mr. Grattan was forced to take in reference to this subject, when the meeting took place at Charlemont House respecting the Dungannon resolutions, will appear a few pages further on.

In order to throw out the Bill, an adjournment was proposed, but it was rejected by 145 to 56.

The Bill was not, however, passed, until after the dissolution of the Carlisle ministry, and the recovery of the Irish Constitution; so closely connected seem to be the spirit of civil and religious liberty.

The subject of the trade with Portugal occasioned much embarrassment at this period. After the free trade had been carried, the Irish exported their manufactures to Portugal; their linens were seized on by the authorities at Lisbon, and confiscated. Applications were made to the British Government, and Lord Hillsborough strove to negotiate the matter; but the minister, Chevalier Da Pinto, stated in reply, that the Queen of Portugal was determined not to allow the Methuen treaty of 1703 to comprehend the *woollen* trade of Ireland; and under this pretext they seized upon the *linens!*

The question had been often brought before the House of Commons, and on the 6th February, Mr. Eden made a long statement explanatory of the business, but he proposed nothing. It appeared that of the exports from Ireland, then amounting to three millions, about one-twelfth went to Portugal; that the trade in linen and woollen had been guaranteed to Ireland by ancient treaties, particularly by that of 1642, when it was expressly stipulated that there should be free commerce between the subjects of both Crowns in all islands and countries. Mr. Fitzgibbon then proposed an

Address to the King, calling on him to assert the rights of the country. This address was considered as weak, futile, and inefficient. It was opposed by Mr. Grattan, but was however adopted by the House; and a spirited amendment of Sir Lucius O'Brien was rejected. His Majesty shortly after replied, that he would use his efforts to bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion.

The Habeas Corpus Bill was again introduced by Sir Samuel Bradstreet, and was returned approved of from England. This was the best measure of the Carlisle ministry; indeed, it was the only good one.

CHAPTER X.

The Convention of Dungannon, 1782.—Resolutions passed there—Prepared by Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood.—Mr. Dobbs.—Meeting of the Delegates.—Important results of these proceedings.—Weakness of the Government.—Mr. Grattan's new motion on the Rights of Ireland.—Its ultimate results.—Dissolution of Lord North's ministry.—His character as a politician.—Remark of Lord Chatham on him.—Lord Rockingham's administration formed.—Dismissal of Lord Carlisle from the Viceroyship.—Conduct of Mr. Eden.—His letter to Lord Shelburne.—His strange motion in the house.—Mr. Fox's reply.—Message from the King on Ireland.—Singular resolution carried in the Irish Parliament by Mr. Grattan.—The new Viceroy, the Duke of Portland.—The new ministers beg for delay.—Reply of Mr. Grattan.—Lord Charlemont's letter to Mr. Fox.—Tenders of office to Mr. Grattan and his Friends.—Their refusal, and the reasons for it.—Danger of delay.

THE most important proceeding with which this year opened was the celebrated Convention of Dungannon, and which at this period had a magic influence on the affairs of Ireland, and brought to a favourable conclusion those important subjects which had so often, but in vain, been proposed by the patriotic party in Ireland. On the 28th December, in the preceding year, the Ulster first regiment, commanded by Lord Charlemont,

had adopted resolutions, animadverting on the corruption of the members of Parliament, and inviting the associations of Ulster to send delegates to a town in that province, to deliberate on the state of public affairs. Mr. Dawson was the originator of this fearless summons. They were appointed to meet in Dungannon on the 15th of February.

An assembly thus summoned, without authority, to meet in arms, to debate and to resolve, appeared fraught with great danger, and if not well directed, might produce much mischief. Accordingly Lord Charlemont, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Flood, met at Lord Charlemont's house, and there it was agreed that they should prepare the chief resolutions, to be recommended for adoption by the Convention. The first resolution was drawn up by Mr. Grattan; it was, "That a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance." The second was drawn up by Mr. Flood. It was, "That the powers exercised by the Privy Council of both kingdoms, under, or under colour or pretence of, the Law of Poyning, are unconstitutional, and a grievance." Flood objected to the word "illegal" being introduced into the first; it could not be introduced into the second, because it was not possible to declare that that which was law was illegal. He observed, that it was a very

strong resolution without those words. The resolution, however, was carried as originally proposed, and the words retained. Mr. Dobbs, an active and public-spirited man, but a strange and eccentric character, subsequently member of Parliament, and distinguished for his singular speech at the Union, in which he foretold the end of the world, and the approach of the Messiah, was entrusted by these individuals to carry down the resolutions. After the meeting terminated, it occurred to Mr. Grattan that the omission of any mention of the Catholics in their resolutions was impolitic; but as Lord Charlemont and Mr. Flood were not favourable to them, he thought it vain to press them on the matter. But he conceived it would be well to unite the Catholics to their party, and that it would be politic to throw out some conciliatory idea at the meeting. Accordingly, without further consultation, he drew up a resolution in their favour, which he sent down with the rest:

Resolved, "that we hold the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves; that we rejoice in the relaxation of the PENAL LAWS against our ROMAN CATHOLIC FELLOW SUBJECTS, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland."

Dobbs was ready mounted when this resolution was forced into his portmanteau, by Mr. Grattan;

and, thus laden, their messenger departed. He went forth the harbinger of peace, he returned the herald of liberty.

On the 15th of February, 242 delegates, the representatives of 143 corps, met at Dungannon. They were received with great pomp by the volunteers, who lined the streets on the occasion. They held their meeting in the church, and deliberated from twelve till eight o'clock in the evening. The resolutions of Charlemont House were unanimously adopted; and that regarding the Roman Catholics, which was proposed by Mr. Pollock, and seconded by Mr. Black, a Presbyterian minister, passed with only two dissentient voices. Others of a similar tendency were likewise adopted. Thus was the junction of the Roman Catholics effected; and thus, by the united foresight of three individuals, a proceeding which might have proved fatal to their country was converted into a medium of public good.

These resolutions spread immediately throughout the country; they were adopted by the volunteers, by the meetings of freeholders, and by the grand juries. Lord Clanricarde issued a notice from Portumna, calling on the volunteers to appoint delegates and meet those of Connaught; Lord Kingsborough presided at Cork, where the delegates of the province of Munster were assembled; Mr. Flood was in the chair at a

meeting of the province of Leinster, which was held in Dublin; and in all they adopted the resolutions of the Dungannon Convention.

The Government in vain strove to discourage these proceedings; the flame extended the more; for the Government, having now totally lost the confidence of the people, was neither feared nor regarded.

Fortified by these proceedings, Mr. Grattan again brought forward in the House of Commons, on the 22nd February, the question respecting the rights of Ireland. He complained that Ireland had been named in four different British Acts of Parliament, and one of them published by the Secretary in the "Dublin Gazette," notwithstanding the solemn and reiterated assurances that the claim would not be exercised. He moved an address to his Majesty, declaring, "that the people of Ireland were free, that Ireland was a distinct kingdom, and that no other power but the King, Lords, and Commons, had any right to make laws for Ireland; that this privilege was the very essence of their liberty, and that they tendered it as they did their lives:" appealing to the magnanimity of the British character, and declaring that next to their liberties they valued their connexion with Great Britain.

This motion was seconded by Mr. William Brownlow, and supported by Mr. Flood, Mr. Burgh, and Mr. Forbes; but a motion of the

Attorney-General to adjourn the debate to August, was carried by 137 to 68.

The subject was again moved in a different shape by Mr. Flood on the 26th, and followed by a similar result. The law-officers of the crown were, however, obliged to abandon the high ground which they had held; they retracted their former opinions, and at last were driven to admit that England had no right to bind Ireland.

The dissolution of Lord North's administration was now fast approaching. The losses in America had at length roused the English to a sense of their situation. The opposition in the House of Commons, led by Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Dunning, and General Conway, pressed the Government repeatedly and with success.

On the 8th of March, Lord J. Cavendish made a motion stating the losses in the war, and condemning the conduct of ministers. This was lost only by a majority of ten upon the previous question; Government being afraid to meet it directly.

On the 15th the motion was renewed in another shape, declaring that they had no confidence in ministers; and out of 480 members, the ministers could only procure a majority of nine.

On the 20th, Lord Surry proceeded to bring the subject forward again, when Lord North declared the ministry no longer existed.

For near twelve years the fatal sway of this ministry had lasted, and one may say with truth, that Lord North was the worst minister England ever had;—very corrupt, devoid of all idea of principle, the slave of the sovereign, the oppressor of the people, his sentiments were arbitrary, and his government in Ireland showed that he had not the least regard for liberty. In that country he was a perfect tyrant. Fortunately for England, he failed in the American war, or she too would have been enslaved; and fortunately for Ireland, he committed great errors of which she dexterously availed herself; and to both countries he did infinite and lasting mischief. In private he was a good man; a kind husband, a man of pleasantry, full of wit, and an agreeble speaker. Lord Chatham's remark was a just one:—"What, join with Lord North! You might as well coalesce with a plague!" It would have been well if these words had been remembered a few years afterwards.

A new and liberal ministry was now quickly formed, with the Marquis of Rockingham at its head, as first Lord of the Treasury, and Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox as Secretaries of State.

The English House met, after the recess, on the 8th April, when, to the astonishment of every one, the Irish Secretary appeared among them. He had fled from Ireland; gone post-haste to London, the bearer of Lord Carlisle's resignation, and the announcement of the total

failure of his government in Ireland. But he found himself anticipated; for Lord Carlisle had been already removed from the Viceroyship of Ireland, and from the lieutenancy also of the East Riding of Yorkshire. This latter step had been taken in order to reinstate the Marquis of Carmarthen, who had been deprived of that post of honour by the present Government, in consequence of his votes in the House of Peers. Mr. Eden, upon this, refused to communicate with the new ministry, or give them any information respecting Ireland, and addressed the following letter to Lord Shelburne:—

MR. EDEN TO LORD SHELBURNE.

Downing Street, April 5, 1782.

My Lord,

Having reconsidered the conferences with which your Lordship yesterday indulged me, I think that I ought specifically to state my reasons for having so often declined your intimations to me, to enter into opinions and facts respecting the present circumstances of Ireland, and the measures best to be pursued there. When I arrived in London, I had come prepared and disposed and instructed to serve, most cordially, in the critical measure of closing the Lord Lieutenant's government, so as to place it with all practicable advantages, in the hands of whatever person his Majesty's ministers might have destined to succeed to it.

I presupposed, however, that either his Excellency would be recalled very soon, but not without the attentions which are due to him, his station, and his services; or that his

Majesty's ministers would assist and instruct him in first concluding the business of the session, and the various public measures and arrangements, of some difficulty and consequence which are immediately connected with it, and which cannot be completed in less than four or five months.

Finding, however, to my extreme surprise, that the manner of giving the Lieutenancy of the East Riding to Lord Carmarthen, had been such as to amount to a marked and personal insult, when it is considered that the thing taken is merely honorary, and that the person from whom it is taken is an absent Viceroy; and hearing also, from your Lordship, that the Duke of Portland is not unlikely to be made the immediate and actual messenger of his own appointment, I, from that moment, declined any communication respecting facts and measures; because this line, adopted towards the present Lord Lieutenant must, in my opinion, be fatal to the ease of his successors for a long period of time, and ruinous to all Government, and the consequent peace of Ireland.

Your Lordship has informed me, that this is not meant as a personal exertion of power against Lord Carlisle, but that his Majesty's ministers have adopted this mode of removing the Lord Lieutenant, as a wise measure of Government. I differ so totally in my judgment, that it would be idle in me to trouble them further respecting Ireland.

I shall, as the duty of my situation requires, wait on such of his Majesty's ministers as are disposed to see me, and with that respect which is due to them, shall submit what I have here stated.

My next anxiety is to act, for his honour and the public service;—two objects which cannot at this moment be separated. I am ready this evening, or to-morrow morn-

ing, at any hour, to attend the commands of his Majesty's ministers, either separately or collectively. To-morrow, at two, I shall go into the country, to make a visit of personal respect and private friendship; and on Monday, in the House of Commons, I shall state, as fully as a weak voice will permit, what I conceive to be the present circumstances of Ireland. I shall do this without any mixture of complaint, and with the most anxious regard to facilitate any subsequent system for the public tranquillity; I shall only wish to let it be implied by the world, from Irish facts, in contradiction to English treatment, that the present Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (I borrow his own words from his last letter to your Lordship) "has had the good fortune to conduct the business of Ireland, at a most critical period, without discredit to his Majesty's government, and with many increasing advantages to the interests of his kingdoms."

I have the honour to be, &c.

WILLIAM EDEN.

The next day Mr. Eden went to the House and stated all the measures the volunteers called for, and all of which he and Lord Carlisle opposed; but he recommended the House to agree to them, and concluded by moving a partial repeal of the 6th George I. Conduct so strange and extravagant, and so entirely irreconcileable with all his previous measures, could only be considered as an insult to the new government. He refused to withdraw his motion, and was threatened with a vote of censure. He then proceeded to terrify the House, by declaring that he was to return to

Ireland next day, and if he did not bring a favourable account of his motion, all would be too late. He was replied to with great force by Mr. Fox, and was supported only by Colonel Luttrell, Lord Newhaven, and Sir J. Mansfield. At length he withdrew the motion, and next day, Mr. Fox presented to the House the following message; a similar one was sent to the Lords; and addresses in reply were unanimously voted.

"His Majesty being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies are prevailing amongst his loyal subjects in Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance, earnestly recommends to this House, to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms.

1782. "G. R."

We now turn to the Irish Parliament. On the 14th of March, Mr. Grattan had declared that he would bring on the question of Right; and his friends having attended the House at an early hour, he moved and carried the following resolution of summons, as being most likely to attract the attention of the members, from its new and unprecedented style: "Ordered that this House be called over on Tuesday the 16th of April next, and that the Speaker *do write circular letters* to the members, ordering them to attend that day, *as they tender the rights of the Irish Parliament.*"

The House then adjourned to the 14th April.

On that day, the Duke of Portland, and Mr. Fitzpatrick as Secretary, arrived. The latter had not a seat in the House, and an interval of two days only was to elapse before this momentous question was, for the third time, to be submitted by Mr. Grattan to Parliament.

Mr. Charles Francis Sheridan, who was in communication with Mr. Grattan, on the part of the Duke of Portland, in reference to the intended measure, had written to his brother Richard Brinsley in England upon the subject as follows:—

CHARLES SHERIDAN, ESQ., TO R. B. SHERIDAN, ESQ.

Dublin, March 27, 1782.

My dear Dick,

As to our politics here, I send you a newspaper; read the resolutions of the volunteers, and you will be enabled to form some idea of the spirit which at present pervades this country. A declaration of the independency of our Parliament upon yours will certainly pass our House of Commons immediately after the recess. Government here, dare not, cannot oppose it. You will see the volunteers have pledged their lives and fortunes in support of the measure.

The grand juries of every county have followed their example, and some of the staunchest friends of Government have been, much against their inclinations, compelled to sign the most spirited resolutions.

A call of the House is ordered for the first Tuesday after the recess, and circular letters from the Speaker, worded in this remarkable manner, "That the members do attend on that day, as they tender the rights of Ireland." In

short, nothing will satisfy the people but the most unequivocal assertion of the total independence of the Irish legislature. This flame has been raised within this six weeks, and is entirely owing either to the insidious design, or unpardonable inattention, of the late administration, in including, or suffering to be included, the name of Ireland in no less than five British Statutes passed last session. People here were ignorant of this till Grattan produced the five Acts to the House of Commons, one of which Eden had been so imprudent to publish in the "Dublin Gazette." Previous to this the general sense of the country was, that the mere question of right should be suffered to sleep, provided the exercise of the power claimed under it should never again be resorted to in a single instance.

The sooner you repeal the 6th of Geo. I. the better; for, believe me, nothing short of that can now preserve union and cordiality between the two countries.

I am your very affectionate brother,

C. F. SHERIDAN.

The Marquis of Rockingham had been an early friend of Lord Charlemont, and Mr. Fox was an old acquaintance; accordingly they wrote to him to try and procure an adjournment of the House, in order that the British ministry might obtain necessary information as to Ireland: the following were their letters.

CHARLES JAMES FOX TO LORD CHARLEMONT.

Grafton Street, April 4, 1782.

MY DEAR LORD,

If I had occasion to write to you a month ago, I should have written with great confidence that you would believe me perfectly sincere, and would receive any thing that came from me with the partiality of an old acquaintance, and one who acted upon the same political principles. I hope you will now consider me in the same light; but I own I write with much more diffidence, as I am much more sure of your kindness to me personally, than of your inclination to listen with favour to any thing that comes from a Secretary of State. The principal business of this letter is to inform you, that the Duke of Portland is appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Colonel Fitzpatrick his Secretary; and when I have said that, I need not add, that I feel myself on every private, as well as public account, most peculiarly interested in the success of their administration. That their persons and characters are not disagreeable to your Lordship, I may venture to assure myself, without being too sanguine; and I think myself equally certain, that there are not in the world two men, whose general way of thinking upon political subjects, is more exactly consonant to your own. It is not too much, therefore, to desire and hope, *that you will, at least, look upon the administration of such men with rather a more favourable eye, and incline to trust them rather more than you could do most of those who have been their predecessors.* Why should not the complete change of system that has happened in this country, have the same effect there that it has had? and why should not those who used to compose the opposition in Ireland, become the principal sup-

porters of the new administration there, on the same grounds on which they opposed the old one? In short, why should not the Whigs (I mean in principle, not name) *unite in every part of the empire to establish their principles so firmly, that no future faction will be able to destroy them?*

With regard to the particular points between the two countries, *I am really not yet master of them sufficiently to discuss them;* but I can say, in general, that the new ministry have no other wish than to settle them in the way that may be most for the real advantage of both countries, whose interests cannot be distinct. This is very general indeed; and if this language came from persons whose principles were less known to you, I should not expect you to consider it as any thing but mere words. As it comes from those of whom I know your good opinion, I trust it will pass for something more. All we desire is, favourable construction, and assistance as far as is compatible with your principles; for to endeavour to persuade men to disgrace themselves, (even were it possible, as in this instance I know it is not,) is very far from being part of the system of the ministry; and the particular time of year at which this change happens, is productive of many great inconveniences, especially as it will be very difficult for the Duke of Portland to be in Dublin before the Parliament meets; but I cannot help thinking, that all reasonable men will concur in removing some of those difficulties, *and that a short adjournment will not be denied, if asked.* I do not throw out this as knowing from any authority it will be proposed, but as an idea that suggests itself to me; and in order to show that I write to talk with you, and converse with you in the same frank manner in which I should have done before I was in the situation, so very new to me. *I have been so sure to think ill of all the ministers I did know, and to*

suspect those, I did not, that when I am obliged to call myself a minister, I feel as if I put myself in a very suspicious character; but I assure you, I am the very same man, in all respects, that I was when you knew me and honoured me with some share in your esteem; that I maintain the same opinions, and act with the same people. I beg your pardon for so long a letter; but the great desire I feel in common with my friends, that we should retain your good opinion, must make my apology.

Pray make my best compliments to Mr. Grattan, and tell him that the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fitzpatrick are thoroughly impressed with the consequence of his approbation, and will do all they can to deserve it. *I do most sincerely hope that he may hit upon some line that may be drawn honourably and advantageously to both countries;* and that when that is done, he may show the world, that there may be a Government in Ireland, of which he is not ashamed to take a part. That country can never prosper when what should be the ambition of men of honour is considered as a disgrace. I must beg pardon again, for the unreasonable length of this letter. I do assure you, my dear Lord, that there is no one who values more your esteem, or is more solicitous for the continuance of it, than

Your very obedient humble servant,

CHARLES JAMES FOX.

LORD ROCKINGHAM TO LORD CHARLEMONT.

Grosvenor Square, 9th April, 1782.

MY DEAR LORD CHARLEMONT,

The long and pleasing friendship which has so mutually and so cordially existed between your Lordship and me for so many, many years, may now, I trust, facilitate what I am sure

has been the object of our public conduct—the mutual advantage and prosperity of both these countries; natural distrusts and jealousies will not have the smallest weight on either of our minds. The Duke of Portland being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, I think, my dear friend, a pretty good pledge of the fair intentions of His Majesty's ministers. His Grace's character and disposition of mind, as well as the principles on which he has long acted, are well known to your Lordship, and I cannot but hope, that many advantages will arise from a trust and confidence in his character, which may produce the happiest effects both in the commencement and progress of such plans as may be suggested. I can assure your Lordship, that His Majesty's present ministers will not loiter in a business of such magnitude. This day, His Majesty sends a message to the House of Commons, stating that distrusts and jealousies have arisen in Ireland, and that it is highly necessary to take them into immediate consideration, in order to a final adjustment. The Duke of Portland will set out for Ireland to-morrow evening. His Grace is empowered to send the same message to the Parliament of Ireland. *I should hope that an adjournment of the House of Commons in Ireland for a fortnight or three weeks*, in order to give the Duke of Portland the opportunity of enquiring into the opinions of your Lordship, and of the gentlemen of the first weight and consequence, will be readily assented to. *I cannot think that it would be good policy in the House of Commons of Ireland to carry on measures at this moment which should appear so onerous to extort.* In truth, my dear Lord, I think the time is come when a new system and new arrangement of connection between the two kingdoms must be settled to the mutual satisfaction and reciprocal interest of both. Let us unite our endeavours in so good a work.

I cannot conclude, without expressing to your Lordship how anxious I shall be to hear from you.

I have the honour to be,
My dear Lord Charlemont,
Most affectionately yours,
ROCKINGHAM.

Lord Charlemont wrote to Mr. Flood on the 13th, requesting him to come to Dublin, and give his advice; but Mr. Flood declined, and Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan were left to arrange the preliminaries. Mr. Grattan was exceedingly ill when Lord Charlemont called upon him and stated, that letters had been received from Lord Rockingham and Mr. Fox, applying for time; that they were anxious that the measures should be delayed, and requesting that Mr. Grattan and his friends would postpone them. Mr. Grattan's reply was, "*No time; no time!*" Accordingly they sent their reply to England. Mr. Grattan being unable to write, dictated to Lord Charlemont. They informed the British minister, "that they could not delay—that they were pledged to the people—that they could not postpone the questions, for that these measures were *public property.*" Such were the words in the letter to the Marquis of Rockingham. The following was the letter Lord Charlemont addressed to Mr. Fox.

LORD CHARLEMONT TO MR. FOX.

Dublin, 11th April, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

Give me leave in the first place to return you my most sincere thanks for the honour and favour of your letter. Your finding leisure at this busy period, when every moment of your time is precious to yourself and to the empire, for the recollections of an old friend, is a kindness for which I had no reason to expect, and for which I shall ever be grateful. You do me also honour and justice in supposing that I should at all times receive any thing that comes from you with a degree of partiality; and though the idea of the difference between the man and the minister, is in some respects a just one, (my thoughts respecting ministers in general being nearly similar to what yours were,) yet still I can conceive that a man in high ministerial office, may be perfectly an honest man.

Indeed, the arrangement for the present administration would alone be sufficient to persuade me of the possibility, and such is my regard and affection for many of the members of which it is composed, that any doubts on this head would render me truly miserable. No man can be more rejoiced than I am at the late happy, though tardy change. I rejoice in it as a friend to individuals, but more especially as a member of the empire at large, which will probably be indebted to it for its salvation. I hope also, and doubt not, that I shall have reason to rejoice in it as an Irishman; for I cannot conceive that they who are intent on the great work of restoring the empire, should not be ardently attentive to the real welfare of all its parts; *or that true Whigs—genuine lovers of liberty, whose principles I now honour and strive to imitate*—should not wish to diffuse this valuable blessing through every part of

these dominions, whose interests they are called upon to administer.

The appointment of the Duke of Portland, and his secretary, is a good presage. I know and respect their principles, and should be truly unhappy if any thing in their conduct respecting this country, should prevent my perfect co-operation with them; for, my dear Sir, with every degree of affection for our kingdom—with every regard for the empire at large—*I am an Irishman.* I pride myself in the appellation, and will in every particular act as such; at the same time, declaring that I most sincerely and heartily concur with you in thinking that *the interest of England and Ireland cannot be distinct,* and that therefore, in acting as an Irishman, I may always hope to perform the part of a true Englishman also.

With regard to what you hint respecting an adjournment, I sincerely hope it will not be desired, as the matter seems to me to involve some great, not to say, insurmountable difficulties. The eyes of all the nation are eagerly fixed on the meeting of the 16th.

The House is convened for that day by this very particular summons, "*That every member should attend as he tenders the Rights of Parliament.*"

The declaration of independent legislature is on that day to be agitated; it is expected, by the people, with the most anxious impatience; and the minds of all men are so anxiously fixed upon the events of that day, which they have every reason to imagine will be favourable to their wishes, that I should greatly fear the consequence of any postponement, especially, as from sad experience, the people have been taught to suppose that a question postponed is at the least weakened. This, too, is an act of the House, and of the House alone; Government has nothing to say to it, nor will any popularity be gained to the admi-

nistration which may happen to be present at the carrying of this question; on the contrary, success will be looked on rather as a defeat, than as a voluntary acquiescence. Such are the difficulties which occur. However, though they appear insuperable, so strong is our wish not to throw any obstacles in the way of the present administration, that we shall wait to be determined by events.

I have seen Grattan, and communicated the kind paragraph in your letter respecting him. He desires his most sincere thanks for your kindness and friendly opinion of him. We are both of us precisely of the same mind; we respect and honour the present administration; we adore the principles on which it is founded; we look up to its members with the utmost confidence for their assistance in the great work of general freedom, and should be happy in our turn to have it in our power to support them in Ireland, in the manner which may be most beneficial to them, and honourable to us—*consulted, but not considered.* The people at large must, indeed, entertain a partiality for the present ministers; true Whigs must rejoice at the prevalence of whiggish principles. *The nation wishes to support the favourers of American freedom,—the men who opposed the detested, the execrated American war.* Let our rights be acknowledged and secured to us—those rights which no man can controvert, but which, to a *true Whig*, are self-evident; and that nation, those lives and fortunes, which are now universally pledged for the defence of our sister kingdom, and for the support of an administration which will justly claim the gratitude of a spirited and grateful people, by having contributed to the completion of all their wishes.

You have thought it necessary to apologize for the length of your letter, though such an apology was needless. I never received any which gave me greater pleasure. What,

then, ought I to do for the enormity of mine. But excuses will take up more of your precious time. I will, therefore, at once conclude, begging you to present my most affectionate compliments to all my friends, and particularly to my dear friend, Lord Rockingham, whom I call *dear* when out of office, and have, therefore, a right to term so now. Be assured, my dear Sir, that nothing can be more valuable to me than your friendship and esteem, and that I desire nothing more ardently than constant opportunities of cultivating them, and of proving to you how sincerely I am,

Your most faithful, and
Most obedient servant,
CHARLEMONT.

Another proceeding was also resorted to, of a different character, but the object of which was in effect the same; namely, a proposal that Lord Charlemont, Mr. Grattan, and their friends, should take office. The Government offered anything that Lord Charlemont or Mr. Grattan would ask, and begged of them to say what they wanted, and it should be given, hoping that they would agree to an adjournment, and would not then press the question of independence, but allow time for consideration.

On this subject, it appeared that Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan perfectly coincided. They decided, that they would not accept anything—that they were too high to be sold to any Government; and they replied, therefore, that they would act with the party, but not take office. Lord

Charlemont retained those sentiments which had induced him to remonstrate with Mr. Flood, on his taking office, in 1775, which he had then called "an odious report;" and the office itself, "a masked pension;" as "it was impossible that office in Ireland conferred the power of doing good."

This letter* is well deserving of attention from every politician, not only for the purity of its style and sentiments, but for the wise advice which it contains. It was, however, addressed to a person possessing a large fortune, Mr. Flood having about 5,000*l.* a-year; it cannot, therefore, be supposed, that the love or want of money could have influenced him. But the case was different with regard to the individuals in question; and as Mr. Grattan himself said, referring to these times, "I was young and poor; I had scarcely 500*l.* a-year. Lord Charlemont was as poor as any peer, and I as any commoner. We were, however, determined to refuse office; and our opinion, and a just one too, was, that office in Ireland was different from office in England; *it was not a situation held for Ireland, but held for an English Government, often in collision with, and frequently hostile to Ireland.* We stated that we should be consulted, but not considered."

The idea that a person should not take office under any Government is preposterous; but, at

* See Letters of Henry Flood, p. 73, Lond. Edit.

this period, and under the particular circumstances, it would have been impossible for them to have accepted it; they would have been free agents no longer, and would have lost favour with the people as well as with the Government. It was therefore necessary, that the business should be quickly done; if it had not, probably, it would not have been done at all, or, at least, would not have ended quietly; for, as all parties asked for time, it was possible that advantage would be taken of delay; and if England refused, the volunteers, very probably, would have acted.

There were, at that time, only 5000 regular troops in the country; and the volunteers amounted to nearly 100,000 men, full of ardour and enthusiasm; their expectations wound up to the highest pitch, and burning with impatience, and (more dangerous still) *with hopes long deferred.* In short, nothing could have been more foolish in a popular leader, than to allow time to a popular body, especially such a body self-armed and self-appointed. They would be certain to use it, not to discover the perfections, but the imperfections of the measure. In fact, popular bodies must be forced into freedom; and this was more apparent from what occurred afterwards in 1783, when they set up a popular cry about renunciation, and contended that the measure was incomplete.

Mr. Flood, Mr. Daly, Mr. Burgh, and Mr.

Yelverton, were at first disposed to acquiesce in the demands of the British Government; but, at this time, no other influence but that of Mr. Grattan weighed with Lord Charlemont, and, most fortunately, he went entirely with him on the question of independence. Thus, the merit of these two individuals was, that they could not be bought or seduced from the path of public duty;—a rare and invaluable blessing this for public men to possess, and for a nation to reap the benefit of.

These two patriots well knew all the parties they had to deal with, and all their different bearings. The Duke of Leinster had, in the last year, some disagreement with the volunteers, on account of his amendment in the Lords, and had been removed from the command of some of the corps. Mr. Ponsonby had English connexions, who, though they would not have made him sacrifice a great principle, might have persuaded him to yield on minor points. Mr. Conolly, too, was connected with the Temple family, and they would not have been averse to the delay, which might have hazarded the question. Mr. Hutchinson, at that time, had influence at the Castle, and he was cautious and deliberative; and some would have preferred to have the question half carried by themselves, than entirely carried by others.

Thus, Lord Charlemont, Mr. Grattan, and the

volunteers, were certain of having a very short political existence;—*they did not, in fact, live for more than a week;* and had they deferred the measures, and entered into negociation, it would have been the means of procuring terms for England, who would have exacted a tribute, or got some revenue for what she gave up, just as she afterwards attempted in 1785, upon the propositions.

The opportunity which then presented itself, might never have recurred—it was, therefore, the more necessary that it should be quickly seized, and adroitly managed—the question was one between two nations, and was not to be settled by petty rules, artificial distinctions, or intricate negociations. Mr. Fox's party, when out of power, had been friendly, and they were now willing to act; but if difficulties had started up—as in two months afterwards they were by Lord Abingdon—the friendship of that party might have cooled—popular feeling—national pride—commercial jealousy—might have been brought to operate on the minds of British Statesmen; their ardour might have abated, and the ex-ministers would have recommenced their opposition. These were the difficulties; here lay the danger—domestic danger from the people, the necessary concomitant of a vast popular movement; danger of another sort from courtly interference and intrigue, and last, not least, danger from British pride and British feelings—judge what must have been the sensa-

tions, and how great the pang which that nation must have felt, when thus called on to relinquish the power that for centuries she had claimed, usurped, and exercised; it may be said truly, *that it was a separation of soul from body.*

CHAPTER XI.

Arrival of the Duke of Portland as Viceroy.—Mr. Grattan's resolutions approved by Lord Pery.—Predicament of the Irish Government.—Support and advice of Mr. Daly.—The Irish claims as set forth by Mr. Grattan.—Perplexity of the Government.—Negociations with Mr. Grattan.—A levee of patriots.—Excitement on the occasion.—Views of the Government.—The important day arrives.—Message of the Crown.—Speech of Mr. Grattan.—Ireland is free —Resolutions of the volunteers.—Mr. Grattan's letter to Mr. Fox.—Mr. Day's communication with Lord Shelburne. — Constitutional sentiments of the minister —Applauded by Mr. Burke.—Mr. Grattan's letter to Mr. Day.—His views as to the only course now to be adopted.—Mr. Day's interview with the minister.—Mr. Fox's reply to Mr. Grattan.

On the arrival of the Duke of Portland, Mr. Grattan had submitted to him and Mr. Fitzpatrick the resolutions and the claims, which it was intended should be proposed in both Houses of Parliament. They read them, and observed that they were strong; they made some objections, and suggested modifications, which possibly would have rendered them less unpalatable in England, and which would have injured them considerably; these, of course, could not be agreed to by Lord Charlemont or Mr. Grattan; the latter had previously shown them to Lord Pery, who entirely approved of them, and promised to support and press them on the Duke of Portland; for, as he

was privy councillor, he had greater opportunity of access to the Lord Lieutenant. Lord Pery was, however, accused of not upholding them as he ought to have done, and as he was supposed to have promised to do. But the truth is, that when Lord Pery conferred with the Duke and Mr. Fitzpatrick, he asked them what powers they had, and the reply was that they had none. Not being consulted, therefore, as a privy councillor, he could not advise them to support measures respecting which they had no powers; and when he promised Mr. Grattan to support them, he was not aware of the predicament in which the Government was placed:—so that, strictly speaking, he was correct.

From this circumstance alone it became clear that delay was dangerous to the cause of Ireland; that it was precisely what the Government sought for; the thing which Mr. Grattan most dreaded; and the course least likely to be expeditious or advantageous.

Under these circumstances, he consulted Mr. Daly, whom he most trusted, and with whom he kept up a constant communication, as he was of the court party. Mr. Daly said to him, in words which he declared he never forgot, "*Take care—you have a great responsibility;—leave nothing undone; let the work be complete, and let it not be open to cavil hereafter.*" Such was the wise and prudent advice of one of his best and truest friends.

Mr. Grattan, thus warned, determined to secure the final judicature, and to cut off appeals to England, both at law and equity. But he was afraid to put this prominently in the address, lest it might injure the whole, and render their demands still more objectionable; so Mr. Daly and Mr. Grattan were satisfied to urge it in the Irish claim, which was to be sent over to England, and which Mr. Grattan accordingly sent, and which is as follows:—

Enumeration of grievances to be redressed, 1782.

The 6th of George I.—inadmissible.

The practice of the council to alter or suppress.—Inadmissible.

The unlimited Mutiny Bill, unlimited in men, duration, and without article set forth.—Inadmissible.

The mode of redress.

The relinquishment of legislative and appellant judicature by the British Parliament, or the repeal of 6th George I.

The practice of alteration or suppression of Bills to be removed by law.

The perpetual Mutiny Bill to be repealed, and a new Mutiny Bill, with the Declaration of Right, the number of men and articles of war set forth, and the whole to be for two years.

Laws necessary to legalize judgments by the House of Lords and King's Bench in England—to explain Poyning's law.

Limit the regulation of his Majesty's forces.

The modification of Poyning's law to be radical and by act of Paliament, without leaving the shadow of a grievance to alter.

"These are the only terms I made with the Government. Whether they are honourable to me, or serviceable to the public, the calm sense of posterity will judge."

Such was the note which Mr. Grattan subsequently annexed to the copy that he retained in his possession.

The Government were much perplexed by the Resolutions intended to be proposed by Mr. Grattan; and finding that the parties they had to deal with were inexorable—that they neither could be prevailed on to accept office, or to delay the measures;—being at a loss what to do, like most men in similar situations, they did nothing; they neither assented nor opposed, and thus the measure was left to take its own course, under the guidance of Mr. Grattan.

At that time, Mr. Grattan lived opposite to the Castle; and on the days of the 15th and 16th of April, crowds of anxious members called upon him. It was *a levee, not of courtiers but of patriots;* carriages blocked up the avenues; the people surrounded their leaders;—eager, anxious, and impatient, but determined and composed. No communication, no concession was made by the Government. Mr. Grattan had declined to see

Mr. Fitzpatrick, and Mr. Charles Sheridan was requested by Government to impart their sentiments to him, and press their wishes; and he was the medium through which the opinion of each party was communicated.

At first the Government approved of the Address which Mr. Grattan proposed, but did not express any desire to bring it forward, preferring it should come from him, but they seemed inclined to support it, if not too extravagant; afterwards, however, they said they would move their own address.

Mr. Grattan, though suffering under ill health, was fully prepared. He not only got the Address ready, but likewise a set of resolutions; being determined, that if the one failed, he would propose the other: in short, nothing had been definitively arranged until the parties came into the House.

Daly, Stewart, Burgh, Brownlow, Yelverton and Forbes, accompanied Mr. Grattan. Daly, who always gave him good advice, said, "*omit nothing, ask for every thing;*" and when the question came on, Government, it must be admitted, backed it well.

At last that important moment approached, which was to assert the freedom of a nation, after centuries of oppression. The capital was filled with volunteers, who had arrived to attend the meeting of the province of Leinster, which was to

be held next day in the metropolis; cavalry, infantry, and artillery, were posted on the quays, the bridges, and approaches, to the two Houses; other bodies were stationed in various parts of the city, and the regular troops lined the passage for the Lord Lieutenant. The streets were thronged, and the galleries of the House were crowded with people at an early hour. Anxiety and suspense were on every countenance. The uncertain state of affairs; the silence of the Government; the eagerness of the volunteers; the singular position of one individual, on whom all responsibility was cast; the nation in arms; the Castle hesitating, and one man left alone at the helm, at a moment, when an imprudent step on his part might involve both kingdoms:—such was the awful state of affairs on this eventful day.

At length, Mr. Hutchinson rose to deliver the same message from his Majesty as that which had been sent to the Commons of England. He stated his attachment to the rights of his country, and added, that he spoke merely as a gentleman of the country, and not as an officer of the crown; —that he had no authority to say any thing further from the Government.

Mr. George Ponsonby then moved an address of thanks to his Majesty, assuring him, that the House would immediately proceed to the great objects recommended.

Mr. Grattan then rose, bearing evident marks of much bodily illness, and great mental anxiety.

"Deep on his front engraven,
Deliberation sat, and public care,
And princely counsel in his face yet shone."

His first sentence pronounced Ireland to be free.

"I am now to address a free people!—Ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation.

"I have spoken on the subject of your liberty so often, that I have nothing to add, and have only to admire by what heaven-directed steps you have proceeded, until the whole faculty of the nation is braced up to the act of her own deliverance.

"I found Ireland on her knees; I watched over her with an eternal solicitude; I have traced her progress from injuries to arms, and from arms to liberty. *Spirit of Swift! spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed!* Ireland is now a nation! In that new character I hail her! and bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto perpetua!*"

He concluded a long and splendid oration, by moving an address of thanks to his Majesty, by way of amendment, setting forth the claims and the protest of Ireland, as follows:—

"To assure his Majesty of our unshaken attachment to his Majesty's person and government, and of our lively sense of his paternal care, in thus taking the lead to administer content to his Majesty's subjects of Ireland.

"That thus encouraged by his royal interposition, we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his Majesty the cause of our discontents and jealousies;—to assure his Majesty that his subjects of Ireland are a *free people*;—that the crown of Ireland is an *imperial crown*, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connexion the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend; but, that the kingdom of Ireland is a *distinct* kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the *sole* legislature thereof;—that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the *King, Lords, and Commons* of Ireland, nor any other Parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatsoever in this country, save only the Parliament of Ireland. To assure his Majesty, that we humbly conceive, that in this *right* the very essence of our liberties exists,—a right which we, on the part of the people of Ireland, do claim as their birthright, and which we cannot yield but with our lives.

"To assure his Majesty, that we have seen, with concern, certain claims advanced by the Parliament of Great Britain, in an Act entitled, 'An Act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland;'—an Act containing matter entirely irreconcileable to the fundamental rights of this nation: that we conceive this Act, and the clauses it advances, to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies in this kingdom.

"To assure his Majesty, that his Majesty's Commons of Ireland do most sincerely wish, that all bills which become laws in Ireland, should receive the approbation of his Majesty, under the seal of Great Britain; but that we do consider the practice of suppressing our bills in the council of Ireland, or altering the same any where, to be another just cause of discontent and jealousy; to assure

his Majesty, that an Act, entitled, 'An Act for the better accommodation of his Majesty's forces,' being unlimited in duration, and defective in other instances, but in that shape, from the particular circumstances of the times, is another just cause of discontent and jealousy in this kingdom.

"That we have submitted these, the principal causes of the present discontent and jealousy of Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress.

"That we have the greatest reliance on his Majesty's wisdom, the most sanguine expectations from his virtuous choice of a chief governor, and great confidence in the wise, auspicious, and constitutional council, which we see with satisfaction his Majesty has adopted.

"That we have, moreover, a high sense and veneration for the British character, and do therefore conceive, that the proceedings of this country, founded as they were in *right*, and tempered by *duty*, must have excited the approbation and esteem, instead of wounding the pride, of the British nation.

"And we beg leave to assure his Majesty, that we are the more confirmed in this hope, inasmuch as the people of this kingdom have never expressed a desire to share the *freedom* of England, without declaring a determination to share her *fate* likewise; *standing* and *falling* with the British nation."

This address was seconded by Mr. Brownlow, and passed unanimously, receiving the assent of Mr. Flood and Mr. Fitzgibbon, two individuals, whose subsequent conduct, as will appear in the course of these Memoirs, formed a strange contrast to the part they took upon this occasion.

Joy was quickly diffused through the city and the country. A new existence seemed to have been generated; the exultation was national and universal; all men were pledged to the contents of the Address;* and the next day, the Delegates of a hundred and thirty-nine corps of Volunteers of the Province of Leinster, with Colonel Henry Flood in the chair—

"Resolved unanimously,—That we feel ourselves called upon to declare our satisfaction in the unanimous sense of the House of Commons, expressed in favour of the rights of Ireland, in their address to the King yesterday, as amended by Colonel Grattan, and that we will support them therein with *our lives and fortunes.*

"Resolved unanimously,—That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Colonel Grattan for his extraordinary exertion and perseverance in asserting the rights of Ireland."

After this important debate and address, Lord Charlemont wrote to Lord Rockingham as follows.

* The remark of Mr. Grattan on the event of this day, was one that should not be omitted, contrasting the success in 1782 with the proceedings of 1800, he observed, "There are two days in the Irish history that I can never forget:—The one on which we gained our freedom. How great the triumph! *How moderate! How well it was borne,—with what dignity, and with all absence of vulgar triumph!* I shall ever remember the joy on that occasion! The other was the day in which we lost our Parliament. *It was a savage act, done by a set of assassins who were brought into the House to sell their country and themselves; they did not belong to Ireland: some were soldiers, all were slaves. Every thing was shame, and hurry, and base triumph!!!*"

LORD CHARLEMONT TO LORD ROCKINGHAM.

April 17, 1782.

MY DEAR LORD,

As in writing to your Lordship, I find it indispensably necessary, that I should follow and communicate the immediate feelings of my heart, I cannot, at this conjuncture, begin a letter to you, without expressing my joy and exultation at the late happy change of administration, —a change, in which I rejoice, as a patriot and as a friend; for, since the welfare of the empire at large is, I trust, one of my earnest wishes, can any thing be more pleasing to a mind so impressed, than to find that empire rescued from ruin, principally by the man to whom I have been so long used, in the most eminent degree, to love and honour,— the gratification of another passion;—indeed, the ruling of my soul intervenes also, to complete my satisfaction; and the love of my country induces me to exult in the power of a man, whose well-known love of general liberty, gives me the best-grounded reason to hope that he will employ that power in restoring the invaluable blessing of freedom to every part of these dominions. From what I have now said, your Lordship will readily conceive, that no greater misfortune could possibly befal me, than to be prevented, in any way, from giving my whole support to an administration which is, in every respect, so dear to me; but, thank heaven, I have little reason to dread any such event, yet, unfortunately, a difficulty occurred at setting out: *the adjournment proposed by your Lordship was absolutely impracticable;* and a thorough knowledge of the state of this country, would, I am sure, convince you, that it would have been extremely imprudent to have hazarded the proposition; the parliamentary declaration of right was anxiously looked up to as an essential and necessary pre-

liminary;—it was a measure, pointed out by the people, from which nothing could ever have induced them to recede; *and if an adjournment had been proposed, the new administration would undoubtedly have been defeated, at the first setting out.* The message sent to Parliament rendered an immediate proceeding still more indispensable. The King desired to be informed of the causes of discontent; and those causes could not have been too soon ascertained and declared, in order to their speedy removal. The nation was, to the last degree, anxious, and the minds of all men were attentively fixed on the event of the 16th of April; and so decidedly was the sense of the people against any adjournment, that by giving way in a matter so very repugnant to their wishes, *we, whose power of support consists principally, if not wholly, in our popularity,* might have endangered that influence, which, upon the expected and necessary redress of all our grievances, we wish to employ in your behalf. These reasons, and many others too tedious to be now detailed, induced me to think the measure proposed, not only improper, but highly imprudent also; and they seemed to have some weight with the Duke of Portland, who honoured me with a long conference on the subject, and who, with great prudence as well as goodness, gave up the point. Neither could he, I am confident, have any reason to repent his concession; at the same time, lest it should be thought that *our aversion to postponement concealed under it the least distrust to the present Administration,* I think it necessary to declare to your Lordship, as I did to the Lord Lieutenant, that my mind is incapable of harbouring any such principle; my intimate knowledge of your merit, naturally and necessarily annul all distrust. Yes, my dearest Lord, I look up to you with the most unbounded confidence,—a confidence founded upon a thorough knowledge of your principles

and your wisdom. We ask but for our rights,—our incontrovertible rights;—restore them to us, and for ever *unite, in the closest and best rivetted bands of affection, the kingdom of Ireland to her beloved, though hitherto unkind, sister*;—bind us to you by the only chain that can connect us,—*the only chain we will ever consent to wear,—the dear ties of mutual love and mutual freedom.* But I have already detained you too long; pardon this unconscionable letter. I shall hasten to conclude, by returning you my most sincere acknowledgments for the honour and favour of yours; and by assuring you, that as I loved you out of office, my affection still equally continues, even though you are a great minister,—a rank of men with which my heart has not often been much connected. Lady Charlemont joins with me in best respects to Lady Rockingham, and desires her sincere compliments of congratulation to your Lordship. Believe me, my dearest Lord, that I speak not less than the sentiments of my heart, when I assure you, that

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's most faithful, and
Most obedient humble servant,
CHARLEMONT.

In order to give time to the British Ministry to make the necessary arrangements, and decide upon the exact measures to be proposed, the House adjourned from the 24th of April, to the 4th of May. Meantime addresses of support poured in from all quarters. The volunteers pledged themselves thenceforth to uphold the House of Commons in their demands.* Thanks were

* See the various resolutions in the Appendix.

unanimously voted to Mr. Grattan, and he was admitted honorary member of the several corps.

The Parliament being now committed, and the country pledged so that they could not retreat, Mr. Grattan wrote to Mr. Fox a statement of the claims of Ireland—the feelings of the people—their objects, and their wish to join with England, on the basis of Irish rights and Irish affection,—the best and firmest bond of connexion. The letter contains unanswerable arguments, and sound principles; it is remarkable for the advice that it gives, and for the spirit, the judgment, and the address that it displays.

HENRY GRATTAN, ESQ. TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES JAMES FOX.

Dublin, April 18, 1782.

SIR,

I shall make no apology for writing in the present posture of things; I should rather deem it necessary to make an apology for not writing. Ireland has sent an address stating the causes for discontents and jealousies. Thus, the question between the two nations becomes capable of a specific and final settlement; we are acquitted of being indefinite in discontents and jealousy; we have stated the grounds of them, and they are those particulars in which the practical constitution of Ireland is diametrically opposite to the principles of British liberty: *a foreign legislation—a foreign judicature—a legislative Privy Council—and a perpetual army.*

It is impossible for any Irishman to be reconciled to any part of such a constitution, and not to hold in the most

profound contempt the constitution of England. Thus, you cannot reconcile us to your claim of power, without making us dangerous to your liberty; and you will also, I am confident, allow, that in stating such enormities as just causes of discontents and jealousies, we have asked nothing which is not essential to our liberty. Thus, we have gained another step in the way to a settlement; we have defined our desires, and limited them, and *committed ourselves only to what is indispensable to our freedom*; and we have the further argument, that you have thought it *indispensable to yours*. One question then only remains, whether, what is necessary for us to have, is safe and honourable to Great Britain? The perpetual Mutiny Bill, and the legislative power exercised by the *councils* of both kingdoms, it is scarcely necessary to dwell upon, inasmuch as I make no doubt you hold them to be mischievous or useless to England. The legislative power of the council cannot be material to the connection, though the necessity of passing bills under the seal of Great Britain may be so. The power of suppressing in the Irish, and of altering in the English council, never has been useful to England; on the contrary, it has frequently been the cause of embarrassment to the British Government. I have known Privy Councillors agree to bills in parliament, and in council alter them materially, by some strong clause inserted, to show their zeal to the king at the expense of the popularity of government. In England, an attorney-general, or his clerk, from ignorance, or corruption, or contempt, may, and often have, inserted clauses in Irish bills, which have involved the Irish government in lasting consequences with the people; for you must see, that a servant of government in Great Britain, uninformed of the passions of Ireland, may, *in the full exercise of legislative power*, do irreparable mischief to his king and his country, without being responsible to either. I

could mention several instances; but a Mutiny Bill rendered perpetual, is a sufficient one to show how impolitic that law is, *which commits the machine of the constitution, and the passions of the human mind, to the hands of one man.* The negativing our bills is a right never disputed; the *poisoning* them, is a practice we do most ardently deprecate, from sound reasoning and sad experience. I brought to parliament a list of the alterations made for the last ten years in Irish bills, by the privy councils or attorney-general, and there was not one single alteration made on a sound legislative motive. Sometimes an alteration to vex the presbyterian, made by the bishops; sometimes an alteration made by an over-zealous courtier to make government obnoxious, and to render himself at the same time peculiarly acceptable to the King. Sometimes an alteration from ignorance, and not seldom for money. I shall therefore, suppose the power of the council no object to a principled administration, and no vital question between the two kingdoms. We shall have then cleared the way to the great question of supremacy. For I conceive the legislative and judicative supremacy, to be one question. If you retain a legislative power, you must reserve the final determination of law, because you alone will determine the law in support of your claim. Whereas, if you cede the claim, *the question of judicature is one of private property, not of national ascendancy, and becomes as useless to you as opprobrious to us;* besides, there are circumstances which render the appellant judicature to you, the most precarious thing imaginable. The Lords of Ireland have on their journals a resolution, that they are ready to receive appeals; so that after the final settlement with England, if the judicature was not included, any attorney might renew the contest. The decrees of the Lords of England and the King's Bench, likewise affecting Ireland, are executed by

the *officers of the courts of justice of Ireland.* The judges of Ireland are now independent; two of the barons or judges may put a total stop to the judicature of the Lords of England, by *refusing* to lend the process of their court:—so that, in order to determine the final judicature, it would be unnecessary to go farther than the authority of a few judges independent of England by their tenure, dependent on Ireland by their residence, and perhaps influenced by conscience or by oath. Besides, the 6th of George the First is enacting as to the appealing, as well as to the jurisdictive power; if the former part stands, we are divested of our supreme judicature, by an actual exercise of the supreme legislative power. And thus a partial repeal would be defective upon principles legislative as well as jurisdictive. You cannot cede your legislative claim, and enjoy its jurisdictive under its authority and exercise. And a whole law must (if the claim of legislation is ceded) fall totally. The question then between the two nations is thus reduced to one point; *will England cede the claim of supremacy?* You seem willing to cede it. Your arguments have led to it: when I say your arguments, I mean the liberal and enlightened part of England. Both nations by what they have said,—one by what it has admitted, and the other by what it has asserted,—have made the claim of England impracticable. The reserve of that claim of course becomes unprofitable odium, and the relinquishment is an acquisition of affection, without a loss of power. Thus, the question between the two nations is brought to a mere punctilio. Can England cede with dignity?—and I submit she can;—for if she has consented to *enable* His Majesty to repeal all the laws respecting America, among which the Declaratory Act is one,—she can with more majesty repeal the declaratory act against Ireland, who has declared her resolution to stand or fall with the British nation, and has

stated her own rights, not by appealing to your fears, but to your magnanimity. You will please to observe in our address, *a veneration for the pride as well as a love for the liberty of England.* You will see in our manner of transmitting the address, we have not gone to the Castle with the volunteers, as in 1779. It was expedient to resort to such a measure with your *predecessors* in office.

In short, Sir, you will see in our requisition, *nothing but what is essential to the liberty and composure of one country, and consistent with the dignity and interest of the other.* These things granted, the Administration in Ireland will *certainly* meet with great support—I mean national as well as parliamentary; and, in consequence of these things, some laws will be necessary:—An Act to quiet property held under *former* judgments or decrees in England—a Mutiny Bill—a *bill* to modify Poyning's Law. Possibly it might be judicious that some of them should be moved by the Secretary here. It would contribute to his popularity. It will be, perhaps, prudent to adjourn to some further day, until the present Administration have been formed.

Before I conclude, I will take the liberty to guard you against a *vulgar artifice,* which the old court (by that I mean the Carlisle faction) will incline to adopt. They will, perhaps, write to England false suggestions that Ireland will be satisfied with less, and that the Irish Administration are sacrificing to Irish popularity British rights; and then they will instigate Ireland to stand upon her ultimatum, and thus embarrass Government, and betray the people. I know the practice was adopted in Lord Buckingham's Administration, by men mortified by his frugality. Might I suggest (if you mean, as I am well inclined to believe, and shall be convinced by the success of our application, a government by privilege,) that it

would be very beneficial to the character of your government in Ireland, to dismiss from their official connexion with Government some notorious *consciences*, to give a visible, as well as real integrity, to his Majesty's Councils in Ireland, and to relieve them from a certain treachery in men who will obey you, and betray you. *It would be prudent to exhibit to the public eye a visible constitutional Administration.* The people here *have a personal antipathy to some men here, who were the agents of former corruption,* and would feel a vindictive delight *in the justice of discarding them.* When I say this, I speak of a measure not necessary absolutely, if the requisitions are complete; *but very proper and very necessary to elevate the character of your Government, and to* PROTECT FROM TREACHERY YOUR CONSULTATIONS. And when I say this, it is without a view to myself, *who, under the constitutional terms set forth, am willing to take any part in the Administration, provided it is not emolumentary.* The Minister here will find very great opportunities of vigorous retrenchments; such as will not hazard him with the House of Commons, and may excite an enthusiasm in his favour without-doors.

I am running into inordinate length, and beg to conclude with assurances of great constitutional hope, and personal admiration, and am, with much respect,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

Mr. Grattan had next recourse to his friend Day, who was then in London, and he requested him to apply to the Prime Minister. Lord Shelburne and Mr. Day were natives of the same county; and the latter was one of the delegates from Kerry, and having the honour of a familiar acquaintance

with him, he readily undertook to be the bearer of the communication on the subject. The sentiments of the following letter are remarkable, as well for the constitutional principles they contain, as for the feeling so well expressed in reference to the connexion of Ireland with Great Britain—namely, that "*he was desirous, above all things, next to the liberty of this country, not to accustom the Irish mind to an alien and suspicious habit with regard to Great Britain.*" This was the sentiment which, in public and private, he uniformly expressed, and for which he received ample credit, as will appear in a letter from Mr. Burke, at a subsequent period of his life, at the very time when he was accused of harbouring intentions hostile to the connexion.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

April 22, 1782.

MY DEAR DAY,

Take the first opportunity of going to Lord Shelburne, and state to him, as a friend to both countries, the absurdity of negociation on the Irish subject. We have sent an ultimatum; we have asked for *rights.* Exclusive judicature and exclusive legislature, are our rights; *we cannot consent to pay for them, or to negotiate upon them.* The country is committed, and cannot put in a train of treaty what is decided in both Houses of Parliament, and backed by the lives and fortunes of the nation. Take notice that we not only conceive ourselves committed, *but conceive the question now carried, and drink "the 16th of April, 1782," as the day of our redemption.* We wait only to *thank* England, not to negociate with her, and such a convulsion

in the public mind as a negociation would be very disagreeable to all parties. The idea of negociation would suspend all the operations of Parliament, and would end in the unconditional and total repeal of the 6th of George I. without so much grace as would attend an immediate and unsuspicious repeal. You know enough of Ireland to say that such a proposition would end in nothing but disappointment;—it would throw us on the defensive. No English law, nor judgment, nor decree, can be executed without the consent of the officers of the Courts of Ireland; they will never consent, they dare not consent; because they are, in common with the rest of the nation, covenanted to stop the execution of such things. The powers, legislative and jurisdictive, are become *impracticable*. We have rendered them so ourselves, and all we ask of England is, that she will withdraw a barren claim;—*that we may shake hands with her.* But we cannot pay for that; we cannot pay to get rid of a barren claim, which *now* takes away our confidence, rather than our liberty. There must occur to you another very strong argument against a negociation; viz., that we have nothing to yield in negociation. We cannot negociate away the freedom of our trade, nor of our Constitution; we cannot establish perpetual regulations more favourable to England than to Ireland, with regard to commerce; a fluctuating subject which cannot be ruled but by occasional laws. We cannot give revenue to England for our rights, for many reasons: *first*, because we have it not. The revenues of Ireland, on the closing the account this year, wanted more than 250,000*l.* of supplying the expenses of the nation. We have for these eight years regularly made unsuccessful efforts to raise revenue to income. Every new tax has fallen infinitely short of the estimate; and upon a view of the produce of commercial taxes, it will be found that the commerce of Ireland is not a subject of further taxation.

As to land, you know how such a proposition would be received, and how ill men would relish a land-tax in retribution for withdrawing a claim which cannot be enforced. The great expense of England would not feel that Irish subsidy which would stop the growth, inflame the passions, and totally banish that glow of affection and expectation with which Ireland now waits to shake hands with England for ever.

We can give nothing but affection, which is better and more valuable to England than any stinted, reluctant revenue, wrung from a country who asks for nothing but her right, and must be in the exercise of that right for some time before she can be in the possession of affluence. If we are not able to pay for the recovery of that right, it is because we have been so long deprived of it.

Contemplate for a moment our resources, if England, or the ministers, should put our right in a train of negociation. We retire *within ourselves,* preserving our allegiance to the Crown as annexed to England, and in perfect obedience to all the laws of Ireland; but we do not execute English laws nor English judgments; *we keep to our covenants and our associations, consume our own manufactures, keep on terms of amity with England under the law,* with that diffidence which must exist, if she is so infatuated in support of a claim to take away our liberty. All this is consistent with the law of the land, though not with the interest of England, nor the cordiality of both countries. *My great object is to put an end to that painful state of mind, and that alienated sentiment,* which a negative or a negotiation founded on our ultimatum would inspire; and, therefore, I do most ardently submit (wishing to put an end to all jealousies, disputes, and settlements with the British nation, *and desirous, above all things, next to the liberty of this country, not to accustom the Irish mind to an alien and*

suspicious habit with regard to Great Britain; knowing, as I do, that Ireland will not negotiate upon rights to which she is now committed, and knowing that she has nothing effectual to give, except affection)—I say, I submit, that the unconditional repeal is the only wise and brilliant measure.

Yours, most sincerely,

HENRY GRATTAN.

In consequence of this very remarkable and urgent letter, Mr. Day waited on Lord Shelburne, and, as he expresses it, "was received, as well as the important subject of which he was the bearer, with the most distinguished courtesy and complacency, and Lord Shelburne took up the subject with the warm feelings of an Irishman, and the anxiety of a sincere patriot."

The following was the reply of Mr. Fox to Mr. Grattan:—

MR. FOX TO MR. GRATTAN.

Grafton Street, April 27, 1782.

SIR,

I have received the honour of your letter of the 18th inst., and am exceedingly obliged to you for it.

The business of Ireland becomes so very important, that it would be imprudent in me (especially as it is not within my department), to give any direct opinion upon the various points which make the subject of your letter. What I do think myself at liberty to say is, that it is my ardent wish, that matters may be so settled, as to give satisfaction to both countries; and, above all, that whatever settlement is made, may be so made as to preclude all

future occasions of dispute, between two nations upon whose mutual union the prosperity of both so unquestionably depends. That as close a connexion may subsist between us as the nature of the case will admit, must be my wish as an Englishman; *that this connexion may be such as may consist with the liberty and happiness of Ireland, I must wish as a Whig*, and as one who professes to hold the natural rights of mankind far more sacred than any local prejudices whatever. I am sure I share these feelings in common with your Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary; and if ever you should think it worth while to inquire into my political sentiments upon any point, you may always be pretty sure of them, when you know those of these persons.

With respect to the last part of your letter, I can have no scruple to say, that it gives me the greatest degree of pleasure; because, whatever measures may be pursued, I am certain no government can have the confidence of the people, while it has the misfortune to reckon the most brilliant talents, and the most respectable characters, among the number of its opponents. I differ very widely indeed from Mr. Eden, who seems to consider an opposition of less importance, in proportion to the virtue and character of those who compose it. Pray give my best respects to Lord Charlemont, and believe me to be,

With great truth and regard,

Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

CHARLES JAMES FOX.

CHAPTER XII.

Mr. Grattan and the Lords.— Vexatious expense of appeals.—History of the transaction.—Lords Pery and Charlemont.—Mr. Fitzgibbon.—Mr. Scott—His remarkable speech.—Mr. Grattan succeeds in a final judicature for Ireland.—Resolutions of support.—His reply to an address from the Clanricarde volunteers.—Letters from Mr. Grattan to Mr. Fox and Mr. Day.—Letter from the Duke of Portland to Mr. Fox.—Mr. Fitzpatrick on the foregoing topic.—His letter to Mr. Grattan.—The best objects gained in the best manner.—Character and conduct of Mr. Fitzpatrick.—The patriots trust to Mr. Fox, but keep clear of the court.—Noble character and conduct of Mr. Fox.—His treatment of Ireland.

WHILST matters were thus auspiciously proceeding, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Daly wrote to their friends, and canvassed both in England and Ireland, in order to procure supporters for the claim to the entire of the measure. Mr. Grattan's friend, Robert Day, on this occasion, as always, was most active and zealous in the cause.

The principle having been agreed upon, they applied to the Upper House; but here, (strange to say) they found it most difficult to reconcile the Lords to their own privileges. Mr. Grattan used jocosely to say of them, "*I carried the Lords upon my back: and a heavier load I never bore.*

I could never have got them to move, if it had not been for the bayonets of the volunteers."

The expense of appeals to England had long been a subject of complaint in Ireland. Mr. Burgh, Mr. Scott, and even Mr. Fitzgibbon, stated that it was tantamount to a denial of justice. Many suitors were induced to relinquish their rights, rather than be at the trouble of prosecuting them, subject to the delay and expense of an appeal to the Lords in England. The idea of the recovery of the appellant jurisdiction was first conceived by Mr. Grattan. The volunteers and the county meetings had been silent on the subject, and the resolutions at Dungannon had not noticed it.

The injustice towards Ireland in this respect was severe in the extreme, and the history of the transactions is worth attention. The English House of Lords had at former periods taken advantage of the Irish Parliament not sitting, and had usurped the power of their Peers. They proceeded in the following tyrannical manner. So far back as the year 1698, the Governor and Plantation of Ulster petitioned the English House of Lords against a judgment given by the Irish House of Lords, in a case of theirs against the Bishop of Derry, and decreed that the case was *coram non judice*, and the proceedings were null and void. The Irish House of Lords protested against this proceeding, and in 1703 they enforced their orders in the

case of the Earl of Meath, and commanded the Sheriff to put him into possession.

In 1717, the English House of Lords re-assumed the usurped authority; they entertained an appeal from Maurice Annesley, against a decision of the Irish Lords, and had recourse to the Barons of the Irish Exchequer, who ordered the Sheriff to obey the English order, and put the party in possession. The Sheriff had the spirit to refuse obedience. The Barons fined the Sheriff; he petitioned the House of Lords, who agreed on a representation to his Majesty, complaining of the conduct of the Barons, and setting forth the right of Ireland to the final judicature. The English House of Lords, upon this, passed the Act of the 6th George I., and the Bill securing the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland on the Crown of Great Britain.

Lord Pery and Lord Charlemont approved of the course that was now agreed upon. Lord Farnham, whom Mr. Grattan knew, and other Lords, were applied to; but as this was a subject which the volunteers had not mentioned, and as the people were not pledged to it, some risk would be run if it was brought forward at once. Accordingly, Mr. Grattan thought it advisable to get it mentioned in Parliament, and he arranged with his friends to bring the question on in the House, and proposed to have a *conversation* on the subject. He then went to Mr. Fitzgibbon (Lord Clare), for at

that time they were good friends. Mr. Fitzgibbon belonged to neither party; the subject was mentioned to him, and he approved of it. He promised he would speak on it when it should be mentioned in the House, and he did so; he spoke well, and got credit for his speech.

The Duke of Portland and the Government were not aware of this movement; and they were dissatisfied, and complained of Mr. Grattan's conduct. But the effect of this step was quickly visible; it strengthened the application to England, and secured the additional object. This appears from Mr. Fitzpatrick's letter of the 28th Jan. 1800, from whence may be collected that the final judicature was not then in the contemplation of the British Government, and even in Ireland it came by surprise.

Thus was effected, by the steady and inflexible perseverance of one individual, a great public benefit, just as the Union of the Catholics and Protestants at Dungannon had been accomplished before.

The spirit and feelings of the people kept pace with the exertions of their leader, and the following Resolutions show the sentiments that pervaded the nation at this time. The satisfaction expressed at the relaxation of the Penal Laws does credit to the feeling of the age; and the mention of purchasing camp equipage for the volunteers, by a *Bishop* and an Englishman, is not the least of

the singular features that these times exhibited. The conduct of this eccentric ecclesiastic will appear further on, in the progress of this work; in this instance, the Earl of Bristol was unquestionably one of the church *militant*.

MULLINGAR VOLUNTEERS.

At a meeting of the Mullingar corps, on Friday, April 12, 1782, William Judge, Esq., Colonel, in the chair, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this kingdom; *and that we will not assist in the executing of any, but those enacted by the legislature aforesaid.*

That we highly approve of the wise, spirited, and liberal Resolutions of the Gentlemen of the County of Galway, on the 31st of March last, and that we will co-operate with them, and our volunteer brethren, in every constitutional measure for obtaining the most perfect, unequivocal establishment of the just rights of Ireland.

That we highly *approve of, and rejoice in, the relaxation of the Penal Popery Laws of this kingdom.*

WILLIAM JUDGE, Chairman.

County of Longford, Edgworthstown Battalion.

At a Meeting of the Edgworthstown Battalion, April 14, 1782, Captain Slator in the Chair:

Resolved unanimously, That Ireland is an independent kingdom, and that we conceive ourselves called on, at this interesting crisis, by the duty we owe ourselves and our country, publicly to declare that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind Ireland; and that we cannot admit the inter-

ference of any foreign Legislature whatever, without a manifest violation of our unalienable rights.

Resolved unanimously, That as men of honour, and volunteers, we will ardently co-operate with the patriot sons of Ireland, in every constitutional mode of emancipating our country from impolitic restraints, and establishing, on a firm and permanent basis, unequivocal freedom.

Resolved unanimously, That a Declaration of Rights from our Legislature is expedient and necessary, as tending in its operation to prevent future innovations on the part of England, and future jealousies on the part of Ireland, and consequently to unite the sister nations in the indissoluble bands of reciprocal interest and affection.

Resolved unanimously, That the powers claimed by the Privy Council of England and Ireland, under, or under colour and pretence of a law passed in 10 Henry 7, commonly called Poyning's Law, are inimical to the constitutional rights of Ireland, and require immediate and effectual redress.

Resolved unanimously, That a Mutiny Bill, not limited in point of duration from Session to Session, is, or may be, a dangerous instrument in the hand of the executive power, and militates against the constitutional security of the laws.

Resolved unanimously, That as the fountain of justice is liable to taint and pollution, from the dependence of judges, which may gradually corrupt and overspread the body politic, the appointment of judges should be during good behaviour, which would infuse a new portion of vigour into the Constitution, and enable it to bear those infirmities—if such there are—which elude a remedy.

Resolved unanimously, That the virtuous few in both Houses of Parliament, who have uniformly supported the

great constitutional and commercial rights of Ireland, deserve our warmest and most heartfelt thanks, which we request they may receive, as a testimony of our love and admiration for those worthies who spurn the corruption and venality of the times, and dare to tread the neglected path of public virtue.

Resolved unanimously, That in the genuine spirit of liberty, sound policy, and toleration, we contemplate with peculiar satisfaction *the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, for which we conceive the causes have long since ceased to operate,* and joyfully hail the dawn of national prosperity, when Ireland, aided and invigorated by the united virtues of commercial, political, and religious freedom, shall raise her head among the nations, and reign the queen of arts and arms.

Resolved unanimously, That as freeholders and electors, we have a right to an unbiassed choice of Representatives, and that the exigencies of the times call loudly for the honest exertion of this right; we therefore pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, that private friendship and connexion shall not influence our choice of Representatives, at the ensuing election; and *that no candidate shall have our countenance and support, who does not solemnly engage to defend the rights of his country with unwearied effort,* and faithfully adhere to the instructions of his constituents, from whose delegated power his senatorial power and consequence are solely derived.

Resolved unanimously, That we are attached by every tie of interest and affection to England, our sister kingdom, are loyal to our gracious Sovereign, and devoted to the service of our country; and that we will defend the King of Ireland, his crown and dignity, from every attempt of his natural enemies, with unshaken resolution, and with

an animated glow of sentiment and spirit, which those only know and feel who have souls capable of venerating freedom, and are determined to be free.

W. H. SLATOR, Chairman.

CLARE MEETING.

At a General Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Clare, convened by the High Sheriff at Ennis, on the 16th day of April, 1782, pursuant to Public Notice, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

Resolved, That it appears to us to be absolutely necessary to declare, that no power on earth has any right to make laws to bind this kingdom, save the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

Resolved, That a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

Resolved, That it is at this time absolutely necessary that the Irish Parliament should enact a law declaratory of their sole and exclusive right to make laws to bind Ireland.

Resolved, That the powers exercised by the Privy Council of both kingdoms, under, or under colour of, the law of Poyning, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

Resolved, That we are determined to render *the English claim of legislation in Ireland ineffectual, by every constitutional resistance.*

Resolved, That a Mutiny Bill, not limited in point of duration, is unconstitutional and a grievance.

Resolved, That the ports of this country are by right

open to all foreign countries not at war with our sovereign, and that any restriction on our trade, or obstruction thereto, save only by the Parliament of Ireland, is illegal, unconstitutional, and a grievance.

Resolved, That the independence of judges is essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland, and that the refusal or delay of this right, may excite jealousy and discontent, and is a grievance.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are due to those wise and virtuous men, who so firmly demanded, and so strenuously contended for, declarations of our rights, and redress of our grievances.

Resolved, That to postpone or delay such declarations of our rights, and complete and satisfactory redress of our grievances, is in effect to deny the rights; and to deny them, is basely to betray them.

Resolved, That it is our unalterable determination to seek a redress of those grievances; and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, as Freeholders, Fellow-citizens, and Men of Honour, that we will at every ensuing election for our country, support those only, who will support us therein, and that we will use all constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress, speedy and effectual.

POOLE HICKMAN,
High Sheriff, and Chairman.

LONDONDERRY VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Volunteer Corps of the City of Londonderry, held in the City Hall, the 21st day of May, 1782, Captain Ferguson in the Chair;

A letter from the Right Honourable the Earl of Bristol having been communicated to the meeting by the Chair-

man, expressive of his Lordship's warm attachment to the Volunteers of Ireland in general, and the Corps of this City in particular, and stating his Lordship's intentions of *aiding them in the purchase of camp equipage*, or other necessaries,

Resolved unanimously, That the following address be subscribed by the Chairman, and transmitted to his Lordship:

To the Right Honourable and Right Reverend the *Earl of Bristol, Lord Bishop of Derry.*

My Lord,

The liberal principles which mark your Lordship's character, in whatever point of view the public examine it, are universally acknowledged. We who have the honour of being particularly connected with your Lordship, as citizens and soldiers—we who have experienced your attention, friendship, and munificence, would ill deserve this additional proof of your Lordship's attachment to our corps, did we not publicly express, how much we prize the sanction of a nobleman more estimable for his virtues, than dignified by birth and titles.

Honoured by having the Earl of Bristol enrolled in our associations, we view his liberality as a testimony of approbation; we reflect on his professions of esteem with gratitude, and are thereby encouraged to a steady perseverance in that line of conduct, which has procured us such signal marks of distinction.

Signed, by order,

John Ferguson, Chairman.

STRADBALLY VOLUNTEERS.

At a meeting of the Stradbally Horse, held on the 18th day of April, 1782, Lieut.-col. Cosby, in the chair:

It was unanimously resolved, That we do most cheerfully accede to the truly virtuous and patriotic resolutions and address of the Ulster delegates, assembled at Dungannon, on the 15th of February last, and that we will to the fullest extent, co-operate with them in every constitutional mode of obtaining the most speedy and effectual redress of those grievances they so judiciously point out.

Resolved unanimously, *That we feel the most perfect satisfaction at the relaxation of the severe laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects.*

THOMAS COSBY.

At a meeting of delegates of 139 corps of volunteers, of the province of Leinster, at Dublin, April 17, 1782, *Colonel Henry Flood, in the chair:*

Resolved unanimously, That we feel ourselves called on to *declare our satisfaction in the unanimous desire of the House of Commons,* expressed in favour of the rights of Ireland, in their address to the King yesterday, *as amended by Colonel Grattan,* and that we will support them with our lives and fortunes.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Colonel Grattan, for his extraordinary exertions and perseverance in asserting the rights of Ireland.

Resolved, That the following thirteen commanders of corps be appointed a standing committee of delegates from

this province, to correspond and commune with all the other provincial committees or delegates of Ireland, *to wit*,

Earl of Granard,	Colonel Parnell,
Earl of Aldborough,	Captain R. Neville,
Sir William Parson,	Captain George,
Colonel Grattan,	Colonel Burton,
Colonel Talbot,	Colonel M. Lyons,
Lieutenant-colonel Lee,	Captain Smyth.
Colonel Flood,	

Resolved, That an officer's guard from each corps of volunteers, in the city and county of Dublin, be mustered at Lord Charlemont's house in rotation, at 10 o'clock every morning.

The addresses from the Irish Parliament on the Declaration of Right, having been forwarded to England to be laid before his Majesty, it was moved on the 4th of May, that the House should adjourn for three weeks, to await the reply.

On this day, Mr. Grattan alluded to the address of the 16th of April, stating, that the country was committed to every part of the address,—the question of judicature, among others; and he submitted to the House, whether it would be necessary to resolve, that "that man was an enemy to his country, who would appeal to England by a writ of error."

Mr. Fitzgibbon declared, that as the right of making laws for Ireland was in the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, this included the final

judicature, and he hoped that no individual would hereafter appeal from the courts in Ireland to the British House of Lords. The Attorney-General, Mr. Scott, admitted the principle, and said, that he strove to palliate, postpone, and soothe, and to keep Ireland from acts of extremity, because he thought the question of right had been given up by England; he had been misrepresented, but he was not surprised that a nation, eager and heated in the pursuit of a great and a favourite object, should have considered any person who differed from them as *an object of public detestation;* he had borne it patiently, and he did so without regret, because he ought not to have hastily declared that a number of English laws affecting an immense property here, and upon a great number of other momentous subjects, acquiesced in and obeyed for such a length of time, had no power to bind Ireland. Events had taken place since the last meeting of Parliament, that made it indispensable in him to declare his opinion *now.* The Bill proposed by Mr. Yelverton, supported by so many members of distinguished ability and virtue, which he entirely approved of, had not yet been returned from England; the object of the Bill was, to secure the entire property, and to confirm other material topics,—the subject of the British laws; and if that Bill was returned, there could be no objection to declare, that British laws were in future utterly inoperative; and not being

returned, people have thought England insists upon that idle, useless, and pernicious power; he thought it therefore better, that the object of the British laws should be doomed to destruction, than that his country should be held in even a supposed state of absolute slavery; he therefore did as a lawyer,—a faithful servant of the crown, —a well-wisher to both countries, and an honest Irishman,—and in the most unqualified, unlimited, and explicit manner, declare his opinion, that Great Britain has no right whatever to bind this country by any law. If the tenure of his office was to be the supporting opinions and doctrines injurious to the undoubted rights of Ireland, he *held it to be an infamous tenure;* and if the Parliament of Great Britain were determined to be the Lords of Ireland, he *was determined not to be their* VILLAIN *in contributing to it.* "I owe," said he, "the avowal of these sentiments to Great Britain, to my country, and to myself!"

This very remarkable speech of the Attorney-General, accompanied by an earnest and solemn manner, showing not only the conviction of his mind, but his determination to uphold it, finally decided the point. Mr. Grattan, in consequence, declared that he would not press the motion, and the House adjourned to the 27th.

To urge this matter still more, Mr. Grattan availed himself of an address from the Clanricarde volunteers, to return them the following

answer, which was very important at this particular crisis:—

To the Clanricarde Infantry.

GENTLEMEN,

It gives me very particular pleasure in finding the answer to his Majesty's message so agreeable to the sense of the nation; and, as it contained nothing which was not essential to our existence as freemen, so we have taken the liberty *to commit this nation to every part of it*, and previous to the adjournment of last Saturday, the members of the House of Commons *did solemnly pledge themselves*, and their country, to the abolition of the following grievances, as contained in our answer:—Foreign Legislature, *Foreign Judicature of any kind whatsoever*, unconstitutional Powers of the Councils, and a Perpetual Mutiny Bill. Pledged against all and each of these grievances, we departed to return to Parliament in three weeks, with the same unalterable sentiments.

We have great reliance on the justice of England, and the fair and honourable objects of her ministers; and therefore, without betraying any diffidence of them, have manifested that *firmness in ourselves which shall not only make us free, but respectable; for we do not supplicate for our rights as a favour, even when we are stating them to an amicable Government.*

I return you my very sincere thanks for electing me to be a member of that body whose spirit I have long admired, and glory to participate.

I am, Gentlemen,

With great admiration of your firmness and principles,

Your most humble servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

Mr. Grattan also addressed to Mr. Fox and his friend Day the two following letters, communicating to the former the course he had taken in regard to the final judicature.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. FOX.

May 6, 1782.

SIR,

I had the honour of receiving your letter of the 27th. I did not, and could not expect, any direct opinion; but being convinced that your opinion would be deliberate, I thought it my duty to administer every information in my power. Upon the same principle I now trouble you once more with an account of what passed in the House of Commons last Saturday, from whence you will collect the sense of this country on the subject of the address. I mentioned that as an adjournment for a considerable period was that day to take place, it was necessary to allude to the present promising but anxious state of this country; that I considered this kingdom committed to every part of the address; that I conceived the Writ of Error to England, as well as the appeal to the Lords of Great Britain, one of those requisites *in which, as in all the others, we were pledged, life and fortune;* and that I was in the breast of the House, whether I should at that instant move, "*that any man who should henceforth appeal to England, in cases of law and equity, was an enemy to his country.*" I added that, inasmuch as we had the Writ of Error and Appeal to the Lords totally dependent on ourselves, the operation of which we could stop by a vote of Parliament, and other means, that, in fact, we asked nothing of England but to withdraw claims which she could not execute; therefore there could be no negociation, for we could not

consent, either to yield *rights*, or purchase them. The Members rose in order, and solemnly declared that they conceived themselves committed, life and fortune, to all the propositions I have stated; judicature in law, as well as equity, &c. &c.; that they could not cede, and that any man who brought from henceforth an Appeal or Writ of Error to England, should be voted an enemy to his country, and the execution of the English sentence resisted. This vote, they conceived, therefore, should not now pass, but should be suspended.

My country has been much misunderstood, if it is thought she has asked for any thing which she cannot give herself.

I do most entirely agree in wishing a settlement, which shall give satisfaction to both countries; but must add, that nothing less than what has been stated, will give satisfaction to Ireland. You are pleased to speak of your own feelings. I have a very high opinion of them, and a great confidence in the manly reach of your capacity; but when I wrote, I did not presume to extract from you your opinions, but to state mine, which are material to the deliberation of the English Cabinet, because they concur with the settled sense of the Irish nation. No foreign legislature, nor foreign judicature, nor legislative council, nor independent army, nor *negociation, nor commissioners, to settle these matters! I stated these opinions in my former letter to you, as to the first man in England;* had I known of one higher in situation, stationed as I am in Ireland, I should have applied to him. I believe it is more regular to address a Secretary of State, through the medium of the Castle. I entirely approve of the rule, but do not hold myself bound to observe it.

I understand it is wished our demands should be as specific as possible; they are so:—A withdrawal of the claim

of supremacy, legislative and jurisdictive, by England; an Act to confirm titles, held under British decrees or judgment, and to secure an exclusive jurisdiction to this realm, by Ireland; a modification of Poyning's Law, and a new Mutiny Bill.

I have the honour to be,
Your very obedient humble servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. DAY.

May 11, 1782.

MY DEAR DAY,

I have only time to say that if nothing is concluded before our meeting, the 26th, WE MUST PROCEED AS IF REFUSED; protraction is inadmissible. Mention this, as it is of the last consequence.

Yours,
HENRY GRATTAN.

This laconic but expressive letter is one of the most important that appears in the transactions of this period. The words, "WE MUST PROCEED AS IF REFUSED," and addressed to his friend, were sufficiently intelligible, and partook of the firm and resolute character of their author; they were also in perfect unison with the recorded declarations of the volunteers, and with the spirit of their leaders, backed by 100,000 men, with 200 pieces of cannon, headed by the nobility and aristocracy of the nation, and opposed (in the event of a collision) by only 5,000 regular troops. Each party now stood on the verge of a fearful

conflict. No pains, no sacrifice had been spared by the people; all were fully prepared, and only waited for the signal of their leaders. If the address of the 16th of April had met with rejection, the nations would have been committed, and to this Mr. Day refers in his letter of May,* 1838, where he says, "Mr. Grattan was resolved to assist, *even by arms, if driven to it*, the liberties of Ireland. Most fortunately, the olive branch was held out, and wisdom and prudence prevailed."

The following letter, however, from the Duke of Portland to Mr. Fox, will show how wise it was in Mr. Grattan to have kept clear of the court, and what a risk the country ran of being involved in a negociation which would have created distrust, and possibly might have ended in disappointment.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO MR. FOX.

(*Private and confidential.*)

Dublin Castle, April 28, 1782.

My dear Sir,

I have written so fully to Lord Shelburne, that it is almost unnecessary to trouble you on the same subject; but, as I conceive somewhat better hopes than what I could venture to express to Lord Shelburne, and as I know that that circumstance will not induce *you* or *some of you* to delay or *haggle*, I may own to you that I do not believe the people of this country inexorable, or determined to reject all idea of *treaty*. I do not mean to say that some preliminaries must not be granted before the negociation takes place,

* Vol. I. p. 118.

because I am convinced they will not listen to any propositions, until the independence of their legislature is promised, and the necessary (for so it appears to me, as an Englishman,) alteration of their Mutiny Bill is agreed to. Those two points ceded, and an engagement on your part to enter into a fair discussion, for the purpose of settling the judicature and Poyning's Law, would, I believe, compose the spirits, and *incline them to adopt measures and modes of treating*, without which I do not see the possibility of settling the business. I foresee very considerable difficulty in drawing the line of that independence, which I advised to be conceded; and for which they so earnestly contend: and, I must add, the embarrassment will increase every day the question is left open; but I am sanguine to hope that the appearance of the sincerity which I am *sure our friends* possess, would go a great way in removing the difficulties which that state of suspense tends daily to create.

Fitzpatrick has sent you as regular information as the wind would permit, but without being on the spot. I will venture to say that no man can judge of or foresee the variations, *or rather advancements in the demands and expectations, which frequently occur to us.* I am more sanguine than he is inclined to be, and expect more from the *two concessions* I recommend to be speedily made, than he thinks me authorised or entitled to hope for. I foresee great difficulties on your side in consenting, and on this in any thing less than the immediate repeal of the 6th of George I. *Yet I would not despair of some middle term being thought of which would answer the purpose,* if I was instructed to show them that the independence of their legislature would certainly be conceded, that is, supported in Parliament by the present Ministry.

I had some conversation with Grattan upon the mode.

He was very reasonable, and professed the strongest disposition to accommodate, saying, *that his reason for preferring the address to resolutions was, that he thought the Parliament of Ireland less pledged to adherence by the one than by the other.* He also insisted upon the necessity of any concession on the part of England being considered here as matter of favour; that it was the duty of this country to consult *our honest pride;* and that if the language did not afford words that would reconcile our feelings to the measures we might think proper to adopt in the present crisis, words should be made for the purpose. He suggested, that the preamble of the Act for granting the independence of the Irish Legislature (not absolutely insisting on the repeal of George I., but certainly not pointing out any mode by way of substitution,) might run,—"Whereas it is *rightful*,"—conceiving that the ambiguous sense of that word might gratify the feelings of the two countries. Our conference was interrupted by a foolish ceremony, that could not be avoided; and I have not seen him since till the levee of to-day, when I desired an early opportunity of renewing the discourse, to which he readily assented. I have given you an exact account of the *conversations which have given rise to my expectations. Fitzpatrick thinks they go too far,* but I leave you and our own friends to draw their own inferences. I should, myself, be fearful of their effect elsewhere. I cannot conclude this letter, without expressing my most anxious wishes for a *speedy* and favourable determination. There is still *an appearance* of Government; but if you delay or refuse to be liberal, Government cannot exist here in its present form; and *the sooner you recal your Lieutenant, and renounce all claim to this country, the better.* But, on the contrary, if you can bring your minds to concede largely and handsomely, I am persuaded, that you may make any

use of this people, and of every thing that they are worth, that you can wish; and, in such a moment, it will be happy for them, that the Government of England shall be in hands that will not take undue advantage of their intoxication.

Ever most sincerely yours,

PORTLAND.

The account given by the Minister in the debate in the English House, (on the 22nd of Feb., 1785,) elucidates the statements already given. On that occasion Mr. Fitzpatrick corrected the assertion of Mr. Dundas, that the resolutions of 1782 had been proposed to the Irish Parliament by the Government, before Mr. Fox had proposed the subject to the English House. He gave an authentic narrative of the proceedings of that period, and the part that Mr. Grattan took on the occasion; he stated, that an address to the Crown, which formed the ground of the resolutions of 1782, had been proposed in the Irish Parliament, when there might be said to be no existing Government in Ireland;—that though Secretary, he had no seat in Parliament; and that no one, connected with the Lord Lieutenant, proposed or supported it; it could not be deemed the act of the Minister, but the result of a private motion, which no influence of a Minister could have prevented; and, accordingly, Mr. Fitzpatrick wrote to Mr. Grattan on the subject, as follows:—

MR. FITZPATRICK TO MR. GRATTAN.

Grosvenor Place, London, March 10, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

I trust you will excuse my troubling you with a letter upon a subject, highly interesting to me, because the misrepresentation of it may tend to prejudice me with you, and several of your friends, whose good opinion, if I was fortunate enough to obtain during my short residence in Ireland, I value too much, not to be extremely anxious to preserve.

From a printed account of a debate in your House of Commons, it appears, that Mr. Fitzgibbon adduced as a proof of the *in*-authenticity of a newspaper report of a debate in the House of Commons of England, my being there, and stated to have disclaimed measures, which I could not have done consistently with the truth. What account Mr. Fitzgibbon may have alluded to, I cannot know; and I know too well the fallibility of all newspaper authorities, both here and in Ireland, to rely much upon their accuracy; as you, however, are the best authority possible upon the subject in question, I will just state what did pass in our House of Commons upon the matter alluded to, and am satisfied that you will recollect my statement of it to have been perfectly correct.

It is not to be supposed, that the peculiar circumstances of the times referred to, considering the distinguished part you took in them, and the great credit you justly acquired by your public conduct, should not have left upon your mind the most precise recollection of all the particulars relating to them. I need hardly therefore remind you, that the Duke of Portland's arrival in Ireland was two days only previous to the meeting of the Irish Parliament,

on the 16th of April, 1782. Although, from the high respect his Grace and myself entertained for your public character, I anxiously wished for an interview with you, upon my first arrival, you will certainly remember, *that from motives of delicacy you declined any such interview,* until the House of Commons should have decided upon measures in which you conceived the public welfare to be interested. Whatever communication there was between us, was therefore carried on, through the means of our common friend, Sheridan; and I take it for granted, that you were by him apprized, that the Duke of Portland's wish would have been, to have obtained a short adjournment of the House, for the purpose of entering calmly into the discussion of the important subjects, about to be agitated between the two kingdoms. *You positively refused your assent to any such proposal;* and, on the 16th, when the House met, you moved your Address, stating all the claims of Ireland, which passed the House unanimously.

By recurring to the journals of the House, however, it will appear, that in answer to the message sent to Parliament by the Lord Lieutenant, an address was first moved by Mr. Ponsonby, "thanking his Majesty" for his gracious message, and assuring him, that his faithful Commons would immediately proceed upon the great object he had recommended to their consideration. This address was superseded by one moved by yourself; but the moving it originally, and that by Mr. Ponsonby, (the nearest connexion the Duke of Portland then had in the House, his Secretary having no seat in it at that time) was a sufficient indication, that, however the Lord Lieutenant might think it expedient to acquiesce in the general sense of the House, and afterwards to recommend to the King's ministers the adoption of all the principles contained in the address moved by you, he did not think

fit, at that juncture, that the address of the 16th of April, 1782, should bear any marks of being a measure, on that day, receiving the support of the newly-appointed administration of Ireland. I do not believe, indeed, that you would be inclined to allow us any *share of that honour which you so deservedly obtained, by your manly and public-spirited exertions at that memorable period.* Having mentioned these circumstances, which, I doubt not, are still fresh in your recollection, I will state to you how, and in what manner, I had occasion to refer to them in the House of Commons of England.

Mr. Fox, having condemned the manner in which the present negotiations between England and Ireland were commenced,* by the first discussion and decision of them having been submitted to the Parliament of Ireland, was answered, that the conduct of the administration, of which he was a member, had, in the settlement of the then subsisting disputes, been precisely similar; and that the settlement of them, at that time, had its first discussion in Parliament. This I thought myself bound to contradict, and to state to the House, that, although the subject had been first agitated in the Parliament of Ireland, it had not been so by the concurrence, or with the participation, of the then Government; and that the acquiescence of the administration of Ireland, in the discussion of those matters, under all the circumstances of the times, did not argue, either in the administration of Ireland or of England, an approbation of the Irish Parliament's taking the lead in the measures proposed for the adjustment of the differences subsisting between the two countries. Had the charge been founded, I confess, I do not see the application of it; as the circumstances of the adjustment of 1782,

* Those on the commercial propositions.

and that now, I am afraid, unfortunately attempted, are totally dissimilar. I have, however, no doubt, that you will agree with me, from the particulars above stated, that I was fully and completely authorized in my assertion. I must entreat your forgiveness, for giving you this trouble, which has proceeded only from an anxiety to stand well in the opinion of a person whose character I do sincerely respect.

If Mr. Fitzgibbon, who cannot have spoken with much authority upon matters in which he was no degree consulted, has controverted the truth of the fact I asserted in the House of Commons of England, I should esteem it as a particular favour, if, upon any future opportunity, you would justify what I said by your testimony, which is the best possible upon the subject. I am perfectly sensible of the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of clearing up all matters which may in different newspapers be reported to have passed in the respective Parliaments of the countries, and which, under the present circumstances, must frequently occasion misunderstandings, and perhaps mischievous consequences; but as this seems to relate only to a matter of fact, the truth of which you only can authoritatively confirm, and as I have no reason to suppose that Mr. Fitzgibbon could possibly have a wish to mis-state or misrepresent any thing I may be supposed to have said, I trust you will not think I have trespassed upon that attention with which you honoured me when in Ireland, and which I shall always be proud to remember, in requesting this favour from you.

I shall not trouble you with any opinion of mine upon the present critical circumstances of the two kingdoms. I hoped, I confess, in conjunction with you and your friends, to have been an humble instrument in preventing any possible future disputes between them; and however the

respective interests of the countries may lead to a difference of opinion between us, by the rashness and precipitation with which this matter has been brought forward, I flatter myself you will do those, with whom I have the honour to act, the justice, which I know they most sincerely do you, of believing them actuated by real and unfeigned solicitude for the public welfare. Let me once more entreat your forgiveness for the intrusion, and beg you to convey my best compliments to the worthy Lord Chief Baron, Mr. Forbes, Sheridan, and Doyle; and believe me, dear Sir,

With most sincere respect and esteem,

Your most faithful, obedient, and humble servant,

R. FITZPATRICK.

From this letter, it is clear that the proposition which Mr. Grattan made was not made in concert with the Government; nor does it appear there was any great confidence reposed in the Duke of Portland. Not that Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan could not safely have done so, but that they did not stand in need of it; and they did not adopt the measures of the Government, or confide to them their own. It seems, however, that perfect confidence was placed in Mr. Fox; but they kept clear of the court, as the court was anxious for delay, and might have detached the party.

Mr. Grattan, though strongly urged by Charles Sheridan, thought it better not to hold any intercourse with the Castle. He therefore pretended he had gone to the country. It was this line of

conduct that placed Lord Charlemont and him so high, and got them so much credit with the people, who, if they are prone to suspect, are also quick to discern; and in this instance they observed the conduct of their leaders, they penetrated their motives, and gave them full credit for honesty and discretion.

It happened that these individuals not only achieved the national object, but achieved it in the best manner. Had they acted otherwise, they would have acted wrong. The great merit in the business was in the way in which it was accomplished. A Bill of Rights was unnecessary; for it could only have been a reetition of their address, their resolutions, and their protest. Besides, Ireland was not receiving rights; she was not acquiring a new power, but one that her charters and her constitution gave. Negociation would not have answered; for each of the two countries had a legislature, and but one executive; and it would have been novel to have acted by commissioners.

Throughout the entire proceeding Mr. Fitzpatrick was perfectly sincere: that was his character. He was open and honest, and by no means a weak adviser; his councils were bold, and there was nothing like timidity in his composition. It was this that made Mr. Flood apply to him and to the Duke of Portland the terms he used when he said that "they were desperate gamblers; that

they hazarded every thing on a throw and kept no reserve."

Mr. Hardy, in his life of Lord Charlemont, explains that passage in the Marquis of Rockingham's letter, "that in the new state in which England and Ireland now stand, there are matters that may want adjustment;"—these, Mr. Hardy states, Lord Charlemont understood to refer to arrangements respecting commerce; and in this opinion, it is certain that Mr. Grattan perfectly coincided.

Sir Jonah Barrington, like Mr. Flood, was also mistaken when he applied to that party the charge of insincerity. So far from this being the case, it was a most fortunate circumstance for the people of Ireland, and for their leaders, that they had to deal with such individuals, and in particular with such a character as Mr. Fox, who, throughout, was perfectly sincere. Endowed with a great reach of understanding, and a magnanimity of sentiment, he not only thought and uttered noble principles, but he would lecture the insolence of power with the dignity of an adviser, and possessed a sense and courage that did not stoop to grasp at tyranny, but could part from it at once and for ever. His fine disposition and his generous character would not stop at little things, but whatever he did he would do graciously. Mr. Fox yielded nobly, and in a manner that did honour to the British

character. Had he delayed or negociated, his successor, Mr. Pitt, would have clogged the measure, or accompanied it with attributes that would have destroyed its grace altogether. Mr. Fox was one of the few ministers who upheld the character of Great Britain in all her transactions with Ireland; he did it with the dignity that belonged to that nation and to her fame. Other ministers trifled with her name; some used it as a means to terrify, others as an instrument of tyranny, and others, again, lowered and degraded it; but Mr. Fox preserved it in all its purity, its power, its honour, and its integrity, imparting with a grace the quality of its blessings, and dignifying alike those who gave and those who received.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Duke of Portland defended from the charge of insincerity.—Mr. Ogilvie and the Union.—That idea solely attributable to him.—Correspondence on the subject.—Use made of the matter in 1799 by Mr. Pitt.—General Fitzpatrick's explanation to Mr. Grattan.—Mr. Fox moves the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I.—Debate on the motion, which passes.—Proceedings in the Irish Parliament in consequence.—Mr. Grattan moves an address to the King.—Universal satisfaction of Ireland at the late proceedings.—Mr. Beauchamp Bagenal.—His character.—Grant of 50,000*l.* to Mr. Grattan.—Resolution of the volunteers.

THE only charge which was ever brought against the Duke of Portland as to his sincerity, was that which arose from the conversations which he was said to have had with Mr. Ogilvie, on the subject of a union between the two countries. This, however, is capable of being explained. It happened that Mr. Ogilvie, who was connected with the Leinster family, and at that time in Parliament, but of no other influence, had applied to Lord Charlemont upon this subject, which was but the chimera of his own brain. The kindness of Lord Charlemont had induced him to reply to questions which never should have been put, and which merited no

answer. He, and he alone, mentioned the subject in private, and had a sort of blind meddling communication upon it with the Lord Lieutenant. But it was not even broached in public, nor would Mr. Ogilvie have dared to mention the subject there. Full of his own importance, he strove to make the Duke believe that he had made an impression on Lord Charlemont. The weakness of the Duke readily gave in to this supposition, and served to show not that he was insincere, which was afterwards charged against him, but that he was only weak, which his after conduct in 1795 unfortunately exemplified. In fact, neither Mr. Fox nor the English Government had any thing to say to the chimerical idea, which was barely conceived, never reduced to form, which would not have been listened to if openly mentioned, and which was solely attributable to the folly and intermeddling of Mr. Ogilvie.

In the discussion on the Union in 1799, Mr. Pitt, however, urged the point, in order to show that the proceedings in 1782 were not final, and that even then a union was meditated. But his statement was neither fair nor just; for he attributed to the question of right that which related to the question of trade. Ireland had settled the question of independent legislature, just as England had her Magna Charta, or the principles of her revolution of 1688; but matters of commerce were those that might have admitted of regulation, and

were those referred to in the resolutions of parliament, and distinctly stated in the letter of the Duke of Portland. But a disingenuous mind, or a skilful minister, can easily pervert the plainest terms, and misinterpret an honest transaction; and thus the dexterity of Mr. Pitt applied the resolution, not to the subject of commerce, but to that of the constitution.

The correspondence he then referred to, is here inserted, together with the explanation given by General Fitzpatrick, who was secretary at the time, and was privy to the whole of the proceedings.

FROM THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO LORD SHELBURNE.

Dublin Castle, 6th May, 1782.

My Lord,

The confidence I find reposed in me is certainly extremely flattering; I will meet it as it deserves, by continuing to write without any reserve.

Under the impression of the unavoidable necessity of conceding all the points required, for the sake of deriving any real advantage from the possession of this country, I do recommend that positive assurances be given, that the alteration of the Mutiny Bill, and the modification of Poyning's law, shall be conceded to them in the form required by their address; that the 6th of George I. shall be repealed, and that writs of error shall no longer be received by our Court of King's Bench; but that, as Great Britain, by these concessions, is desirous not only of satisfying the expectations of the Irish upon all constitutional points, but of preventing every possible source of future jealousy and

discontent, she does not doubt of receiving an unequivocal testimony of a corresponding disposition on the part of Ireland, and is persuaded that the parliament of this country will co-operate in the most effectual method, either with the king's confidential servants, or with commissioners appointed by the parliament of Great Britain, or through the medium of the chief governor of the kingdom, to settle the precise limits of that independence which is required, *the consideration that should be given for the protection expected,* and the *share it would be proper for them to contribute towards the general support of the empire,* in pursuance of the declaration contained in the concluding paragraph of their own address. *The regulation of their trade* is a subject which, I think, would very properly make a part of the treaty, and which, from the dissatisfaction expressed by many commercial persons at the delusive advantages of the free trade, would be a very fit and necessary subject for discussion. I need not inform your Lordship that they will find precedents in the first volume of the journals of their own House of Commons, of committees or agents being sent to England to represent their grievances and obtain redress.*

As every letter your Lordship has received from me has progressively renewed the hopes I first held out to you, it will be natural for you to expect that I should assign a reason for supposing that the plan which I have submitted to you will accomplish the event we desire. All I can say is, that, in my apprehension, it ought to accomplish that event. In my apprehension, proposals, such as I have stated, cannot be resisted in parliament with any effect. They so directly correspond with the wishes of the public, that I conceive that no artifice could induce them to sup-

* See Appendix to Vol. I.

port an opposition to them; the refusal to accede to them, or to appoint commissioners for a final adjustment, on the grounds of their own address, when they should be assured that persons were properly authorized for that purpose, would be such an indication of sinister designs as would warrant your directions to me to throw up the government, and to leave them to that fate which their folly and treachery should deserve. If such should be the sentiments of the king's servants, after using every endeavour to bring them to a true sense of their condition, and of the consequences of such a refusal, I should hesitate as little to order the yacht, and to leave them to be the victims of their own insanity, *as I should to say that it would be useless to attempt to coerce them, and that the country upon such terms would not be worth possessing.*

Suffer me, my Lord, once more to repeat my most earnest instances for a speedy determination. There are passages in the two last letters I had the honour of receiving from you which make me think that there is little or no difference in our opinions upon this unhappy subject; and let me add, that unless a negociation can be entered into with persons properly authorized by the parliament of this country, and that the object is to go fairly to the bottom of the business, and to form a new system of relation between the two countries, upon the basis of their mutual interests, the character of the present administration will be lost, and the English government must be prepared to renounce all pretensions to respect or influence in this country.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed) PORTLAND.

TO MR. OGILVIE.

Dublin Castle, Sunday Morning, 26th May, 1782.

SIR,

I should be very glad to hear that Lord Charlemont was inclined to accede to any part, or even to the idea, of such a plan as you have been so obliging as to communicate to me. I should consider it as a material step to that situation in which I am sure it is the interest of both kingdoms to be placed; being convinced, that whatever is most like a Union, is the most probable bond of connection to restore and perpetuate the harmony and prosperity of the two countries.

I am, with great respect and regard,

Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) PORTLAND.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.—(EXTRACT.)

Wimbledon, 25th May, 1782.

The essential points on the part of Ireland now acceded to, will, I trust, establish a perfect cordiality between the two countries; and as there can no longer exist any grounds of contest or jealousy on *matters of right* between the countries, the only object of both will be, how *finally to arrange, settle, and adjust all matters, whereby the* UNION OF POWER AND STRENGTH, AND MUTUAL AND RECIPROCAL ADVANTAGE, *may be best permanently fixed.*

I observe, in Lord Shelburne's letter to your Grace, dated the 18th of May, he states more reluctance to the idea of commissioners than I should judge to be a general opinion of His Majesty's servants. The measure may be a

doubtful one; but if it appeared to be the inclination among the leading gentlemen of Ireland, I should think good would ensue.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.—(EXTRACT.)

Dublin Castle, 5th June, 1782.

I have now stated to your Lordship every matter that I can think likely to come before parliament, and have farther to add, that the desire which is generally and emphatically expressed for a speedy conclusion of the session, will very forcibly tend to unite gentlemen in discountenancing any attempt to bring on questions of any sort at this season of the year. I presume your Lordship will be of opinion that it is not desirable to oppose the wishes of this country respecting as early a prorogation as the business before them will admit. Nor, indeed, am I disinclined to recommend it; for the passions of this nation do not appear to me as yet to have sufficiently subsided, to let the gratitude which is felt, pass quietly and confidentially through that channel which can alone direct it to the reciprocal advantages of both kingdoms.

There is no doubt of government being able to stop any mischief; but I cannot so readily take upon me to answer for the immediate attainment of the benefits which the liberality of Great Britain entitles her to expect. Unless, therefore, *one very great measure,* which I will make the subject of a separate letter, can be obtained, I submit to your Lordship the propriety of coinciding in the wishes of the parliament, by putting an end to the present session, as soon as may be after the return of the bills from England.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

Dublin Castle, 6th June, 1782.

MY LORD,

The measure which I stated to your Lordship, in my letter of last night, as a sufficient inducement for deferring the prorogation of parliament, *is of so delicate a nature, and requires so much secrecy and management, that I think it unadvisable to trust the communication of it to any hand but my own;* and as it is possible that the event may not justify the hopes I entertain, it would, perhaps, be more prudent to withhold the intelligence which I am now about to give you, until I could transmit the plan, *properly authenticated*, for the consideration of your Lordship, and the rest of the K—'s confidential servants. However, as I feel that I have a right to take credit for my endeavours, and that the ministers in England equally partake of my responsibility in the administration of the affairs of this country, I am as anxious that they should share any merit that can be derived from our joint conduct, as that they should be liable to any blame to which the adoption of ill-advised or inconsiderate measures may expose them. I shall therefore acquaint your Lordship, that I have reason to hope that I may be shortly enabled to lay before you the sketch or outlines of an Act of Parliament, to be adopted by the legislatures of the respective kingdoms; by which the *superintending power and supremacy of Great Britain, in all matters of state and general commerce, will be virtually and effectually acknowledged;* that a share of the expence, in carrying on a defensive or offensive war, either in support of our own dominions, or those of our allies, shall be borne by Ireland in proportion to the

actual state of her abilities; and that she will adopt every such regulation as may be judged necessary by Great Britain for *the better ordering and securing her trade and commerce with foreign nations*, or her own colonies and dependencies, consideration being duly had to the circumstances of this country. I am flattered with the expectation of receiving the most positive assurances from .... of their support in carrying such a bill through both Houses of Parliament; and in case such an object could be obtained, I should presume that it would be very advisable to trespass upon the patience of this country to bring it to perfection, even in the present moment. Your Lordship may depend upon the earliest account of my success and progress in this business.

I have the honour to be, &c.

PORTLAND.

LORD SHELBURNE TO THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

Shelburne House, Sunday, June 9.
12 o'clock at noon.

MY LORD,

In the very instant of the departure of the messenger with the dispatches accompanying this letter, I have the honour to receive your Grace's of the 5th and 6th.

The contents of the letter are too important to hesitate about detaining him, while I assure your Grace of the satisfaction I know your letter will give the King. I have lived in the most anxious expectation of some such measure offering itself. Nothing prevented my pressing it in this dispatch, except, having repeatedly stated the just expectations of this country, I was apprehensive of giving that the air of demand which would be better left to a spirit of voluntary justice, gratitude, and foresight. I gave

your Grace confidence for watching the temper of those you had to deal with, and cannot express the pleasure it gives me to find that confidence justified. *Bargains and compacts may accomplish little objects—great ends must be obtained by a nobler and more generous policy.* No matter who has the merit, let the two kingdoms be *one;* which can only be by Ireland now acknowledging the superintending power and supremacy to be where Nature has placed it, in precise and unambiguous terms. I am sure I need not inculcate to your Grace the importance of words, in an act which must decide on the happiness of ages, particularly in what regards contribution and trade—subjects most likely to come into frequent question. Your Grace will have every merit I can give you. I have only to assure your Grace of every support necessary to carry this measure, and of the most confidential return to every communication you think the public service may require.

I entirely agree in your Grace's reasons for putting as speedy an end as possible to the present session, unless the measure you have in contemplation can be obtained.

The King is at Windsor, and every one else out of town; I therefore only write the sentiments of

Your Grace's faithful servant,

SHELBURNE.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

(EXTRACT.)

Dublin Castle, June 22, 1782.

The disappointment and mortification I suffer by the unexpected change in those dispositious which had authorized me to entertain the hopes I had, perhaps too sanguinely, expressed, in the letter which I had the honour of writing to your Lordship the 6th instant, must not prevent

my acquainting you, that for the present those expectations must be given up. I trust, and am inclined to flatter myself, they are only suspended, and that they will be revived when the temper of this country shall have recovered its tone, and acquired that degree of composure which must give it the firmness necessary for effectuating so wise and salutary a measure. Mr. Fitzpatrick will have informed your Lordship of some very unpleasant circumstances which were likely to have happened a very few days before the adjournment, the traces of which are strongly marked in the Address from the Leinster Volunteers, which I have this day the honour of transmitting to you, but which, I think, *are to be attributed to a suspicion of the possible effect of a negotiation.* By the account of the event of those three or four days, and of the timidity and jealousy of the first people in this country, it is clear to my apprehension, that any injudicious or offensive measure may be prevented, but *that any attempts to conciliate the minds of this nation to any such measure as I intimated the hope of, would at this moment be delusive and impossible.*

These letters show the Duke of Portland to have been a very weak though a very good man. His idea that "*some middle term*" could be adopted, was preposterous in the extreme; and he must have been a shallow observer of human events and human character if he imagined that a nation so strong as Ireland then was, both in arms and in justice, so patient of wrong, so careful not to transgress the law, though so often on the verge of it, would, after four years of military discipline and

suspended hostility, have now accepted "*some middle term*," and assented to any thing less than the whole of her rightful demand; still less could it be credited that the nation would have assented to the recognition of the superintending power and supremacy of Great Britain, at the precise moment that she denied her legislative and jurisdictive authority over Ireland in all cases whatsoever.

In consequence of the production of the foregoing letters in the House of Commons, and the use made of them by Mr. Pitt, establishing in appearance a case of manifest duplicity, or at least of gross insincerity, on the part of the British Cabinet, and of the Duke of Portland,—who would thereby have appeared as endeavouring to destroy the rights and the constitution of the country at the moment they were regained,—General Fitzpatrick wrote to Mr. Grattan in vindication of his character, and his letter explains the transaction. Though transposed in point of date it is necessary to introduce it in this place.

MR. FITZPATRICK TO MR. GRATTAN.

London, Jan. 28, 1800.

DEAR SIR,

It gave me great pleasure to learn from the public papers that you had determined to resume your seat in Parliament, both because I hoped it implied the re-establishment of your health, and because I felt how much it became your public character to make an effort in defence of the independent legislature of Ireland, to the acquisition and

establishment of which you had yourself, so far beyond all other persons, contributed.

My reason for my troubling you with this letter is, that in your future debates upon this question, vital to the existence of the liberties of Ireland, reference may possibly be made to the official correspondence of the Duke of Portland, produced last year in the British House of Commons by Mr. Pitt,—I know not for what purpose, *excepting that of exposing the weakness and duplicity of his conduct;* and with all the circumstances relating to which you are, in all probability, acquainted. It was in answer to my positive assertion, *that no further measure was in contemplation subsequent to the concessions of* 1782, under the Lieutenancy of the Duke of Portland, that Mr. Pitt brought forward these papers; they certainly show that the *concessions on the part of Great Britain were of greater extent than the Administration of that day thought advisable,* but they at the same time shew that they did not think them more than good policy authorized the acceding to, for the purpose of securing a complete reconciliation, and cordial and permanent affection, between the sister kingdoms. I must confess I was not a little astonished to find among those letters one, of which I certainly had never received any communication, written by the Duke of Portland's own hand, and subsequent to the answer to your address, which had promised the fullest compliance with all the demands enumerated in that address, acquainting the Secretary of State (Lord Shelburne) that he had reason to hope Lord Charlemont, yourself, and your friends, would give your support to a project for an Act, or Acts, of Parliament to be passed in both kingdoms, for the purpose of securing to the Parliament of Great Britain a superintendence in all matters, whether of commercial or imperial concerns. Upon a comparison of dates,

I found this curious communication of his Grace's to have been made within three days of my publicly disavowing, in his name, any intention of bringing forward further measures grounded upon the second resolution of the British Houses of Parliament. This declaration I made in answer to Mr. Flood, who, not satisfied because I acknowledged myself not empowered to pledge the British Cabinet to the same effect, moved a resolution, which however the House, considering my declaration as sufficient security against any ulterior measure, superseded, by proceeding to the order of the day. Since the production of the Duke of Portland's correspondence, I have been at some pains to discover what the project was to which his Grace had lent his attention, and seems for a moment to have conceived practicable;—I say for a moment, because by his never having mentioned it to me, I conclude that he was very speedily undeceived, and conscious that it had, in truth, never been worthy of any serious notice. What the project was, I have learned from the information *of its author, Mr. Ogilvie, who originally suggested it, and imagined that you and your friends would concur in it.* It was indeed precisely what the Duke of Portland's letter stated it to be,—a plan for securing, by Acts of Parliament of both kingdoms, the superintendence of the British Parliament, in all matters, commercial and imperial; and to this plan Lord Charlemont and yourself were to be induced to consent, immediately after having procured from Great Britain a promise of the final surrender of every claim to legislative supremacy. If you supposed me capable of such duplicity (which I trust you do not), I must hope at least, that *you will not think me weak enough ever to have had any participation in a transaction so incredibly absurd and puerile* as this appears to have been. Mr. Ogilvie informs me, that with the Duke of Portland's sanction, he had a

meeting with Lord Charlemont, yourself, Mr. Metge, and some others, for the purpose of offering this notable project to your consideration. A parent's blindness probably prevented his seeing what slender hopes he could reasonably entertain of your disposition to foster his hopeful progeny. *He confesses that he met with no encouragement; the ill-fated infant was left to perish in its cradle. Its ephemeral existence probably prevented the Duke of Portland ever mentioning it to me*; and shortly afterwards, it appears from his correspondence, he acquainted the Secretary of State that he had relinquished all hope of succeeding in the project of which he had given him an intimation.

This, my dear sir, is the exact state of a transaction which may perhaps not be understood from a bare perusal of the correspondence, or from the reports of the conversations which took place upon it, in the House of Commons of England.

With respect to myself, allow me to avail myself of this opportunity to express *my abhorrence of the most shameful and unprincipled violations of a compact, as sacred as history can furnish an example of, between two independent nations.* As far as I was an humble instrument in concluding what was emphatically styled the *final* settlement of 1782, I am ready to bear my testimony to the exact truth of every iota of the statement, so ably and forcibly made by Mr. Foster in the last, and so powerfully corroborated by yourself in the present, session of Parliament.

If the death-blow of the liberties of Ireland is to be averted, it can only be by Mr. Foster's and your cordial co-operation: *but I much fear that the power of corruption under your present virtuous chief governor, will ultimately prove successful.* It is melancholy that such a character as his should be lent to sanction *a measure of such outrageous profligacy.*

I am glad to observe that your mutable countrymen seem once more sensible of the gratitude they owe you. That you may have the satisfactory triumph of returning their temporary unkindness by contributing to secure to them the benefits of an independent resident Parliament, is the very sincere wish of,

Dear sir, your most faithful,

And obedient humble servant,

RICHARD FITZPATRICK.

It is now only necessary to trace the progress of the several measures, and the steps taken by the British Parliament, in consequence of the proceedings of the Irish.

The address of the 16th April having been laid before the King, he directed copies to be submitted to the British Parliament, and on the 17th of May, the House resolved itself into a Committee on them, and Mr. Fox went into the case, stating the arguments so often advanced on behalf of Ireland. He agreed in all the propositions, declaring he would rather see Ireland totally separated from the Crown of England, than kept in subjection only by force. "*Unwilling subjects,*" he added, "*are little better than enemies.*"

The two points, he said, that England had to interfere in, were the repeal of the 6th of George I. and the restoration of the Appellant Jurisdiction: the rest lay between the King and the Irish Parliament. He then moved a repeal of 6th George I.

and an address to the king in reference to the other points of the arrangement. In reply to Lord Beauchamp, he stated that he had no objection to word the Act of Repeal so as to contain a specific renunciation of the right claimed by England; he had no objection to give it up *in toto*.

Mr. Courtenay observed, that a simple repeal would be best, as a renunciation would imply that a right existed on the part of Great Britain.

Mr. Burke approved of the entire repeal. The motion accordingly passed, without further debate or qualification in either house, and the Act of Repeal received the Royal Assent on the 21st of June.

As Mr. Burke's name appears on this occasion, it is proper to insert his letter to Lord Charlemont, written at this time. This great man could not remain insensible to the glory and honour that his native country had just acquired, and his *prescient* mind touched on the most essential point, the vital importance of which he at once discerned. *Mr. Burke saw into futurity*;—in this he surpassed any man of the age; and the recommendation he now gave to his countrymen was well worthy of their attention and observance: that much wanted, long denied, and much desired benefit, "*internal union*," he here recommends as "*the means of national prosperity*."

MR. BURKE TO LORD CHARLEMONT.

Whitehall, June 12th, 1782.

MY DEAR LORD,

The slight mark of your Lordship's remembrance of an old friend, in the end of your Lordship's letter to Lord Rockingham, gave me very great satisfaction. It was always an object of my ambition to stand well with you; I ever esteemed and admired your public and private virtues, which have at length produced all the effects which virtue can produce on this side of the grave, in the universal love of your countrymen. I assure you, my Lord, that I take a sincere part in the general joy, and hope *that mutual affection will do more for mutual help and mutual advantage between the two kingdoms than any ties of artificial connection whatever*. If I were not persuaded of that, my satisfaction at the late events would not be so complete as it is. For, born as I was in Ireland, and having received what is equal to the origin of our being, the improvement of it, there, and therefore full of love, and I might say of fond partiality for Ireland, I should think any benefit to her which should be bought with the real disadvantage of this kingdom, or which might tend to loosen the ties of connection between them, would be, even to our native country, a blessing of a very equivocal kind. But *I am convinced that no reluctant tie can be a strong one, and that a natural cheerful alliance* will be a far securer link of connection than any principle of subordination borne with grudging and discontent. All these contrivances are for the benefit of those they concern, and if they do not effect this, they do nothing, or worse than nothing. *Go on and prosper; improve the liberty you have obtained by your virtue, as a means of national prosperity*, AND INTERNAL AS WELL AS EXTERNAL UNION.

I find that Ireland, among the other marks of her just gratitude to Mr. Grattan, (on which your Lordship will present him my congratulations,) intends to erect a monument* to his honour, which is to be decorated with sculpture. It will be a pleasure to you to know that at this time a young man from Ireland is here, who I really think, as far as my judgment goes, is fully equal to our best statuaries, both in taste and execution. If you employ him you will employ *the rising arts in decoration of the rising virtues of Ireland;* and though the former, in the scale of things, is infinitely below the latter, there is a kind of relationship between them; I am sure there has ever been a close connection between them in your mind. The young man's name is Hickey. I have the honour to be with the highest sentiments of regard and esteem,

My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

EDMUND BURKE.

We now revert to the Irish Parliament. On the 27th of May, the House met, and the Viceroy informed them that the British legislature had concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of the discontents and jealousies, and were united in a desire to gratify every wish expressed in the address; and that His Majesty had commanded

* The monument here alluded to was proposed to be erected by the gentlemen of the bar, but Mr. Grattan declined the honour, and the plan was abandoned. After Mr. Grattan's death, a statue in marble (executed by Chantry in a manner most creditable to his genius and taste) was erected by private subscription, and is placed in the Royal Exchange, Dublin; to the Messrs. La Touche, James Corry, Anthony Blake, and a number of other ardent and generous-minded friends, this honour is due, and by Mr. Grattan's family was thankfully appreciated.

him to assure them of his disposition to assent to Acts, to prevent the suppression of Bills in the Privy Council of Ireland, and the alteration of them any where, and to limit the duration of the Mutiny Bill.

Mr. Grattan moved an address in reply. He said he understood that Great Britain gave up *in toto* every claim to authority over Ireland. He had no idea that in repealing the 6th George I. Great Britain should be bound to declare that she had formerly usurped a power. This would be a foolish caution—a dishonourable condition. The nation that insists on the humiliation of another nation is a foolish nation. He then suggested that £100,000 should be voted, and 20,000 men, to support the British navy; and moved an address, stating that the unqualified repeal of the 6th George I. would form a pledge of amity; that they would prepare Bills to carry into execution the desires of the people; and that, gratified in these particulars, no constitutional question could exist which would interrupt their harmony; and that as Great Britain had approved of their firmness, so she might rely on their affection.

Mr. Brownlow seconded this. Mr. Flood made some objection to the last paragraph, but at the same time he said, *he did not entertain a murmur of discontent.*

The address passed; Mr. Walsh and Sir Samuel Bradstreet alone dissenting.

Mr. Beauchamp Bagenal, member for the county of Carlow, now submitted to the House a proposition, most flattering to Mr. Grattan, and on the part of the nation truly generous and noble. It was his own original and spontaneous sentiment, done without concert, and quite unpremeditated—the feeling of a high and decided mind, composed of native worth and undaunted integrity.

Mr. Bagenal was a strange and remarkable character. He had travelled much abroad, had visited most of the countries in Europe, and returned to his native land with manners and habits partly foreign. He was very liberal, spirited, and chivalrous; but irregular. He resided among his numerous tenantry on his extensive estates, and passed his time in domestic and agricultural pursuits; but when he attended his duty in Parliament, he was always to be found in the ranks of the people.

On this occasion he moved that £100,000 should be granted, to purchase an estate for Mr. Grattan, as a reward for his public services; but at the request of Mr. Grattan's friends, he was induced to alter it to £50,000, which was accordingly agreed to.

Mr. Grattan's first inclination was to refuse the entire grant: he consulted, however, with his friend and relation Colonel Marlay, who persuaded him to alter his determination, and to accept the grant. By this he became ever afterwards pledged to the

Irish people; and although he had previously refused to take office, it is probable that the acceptance of this grant operated on his mind, and induced him to consider his exertions and his abilities exclusively *mortgaged* to his country's service, and was the cause of his so frequently afterwards refusing to hold any situation under the various succeeding administrations.

Bills were then introduced by Mr. Grattan, Mr. Yelverton, and Mr. Forbes, to regulate the passing of Irish Acts of Parliament, to repeal Poyning's Law, to repeal the Perpetual Mutiny Bill, to secure the final judicature, to secure the freedom of election, and to secure the independence of the judges; and to conclude this great transaction, the delegates from the volunteers of the four provinces of Ireland assembled, and declared as follows:

The Volunteer National Committee, at Dublin, on 18th of June, Lord Kingsborough in the Chair,

Resolved unanimously, That the Addresses of the Irish Parliament having disclaimed any power or authority of any sort whatsoever in the Parliament of Great Britain over this realm, we shall consider a repeal of the 6th of George I. by the British Parliament, made in pursuance of the said addresses, *a complete renunciation* of all the claims contained in the said statute, and, as such, *we will accept it, and deem it satisfactory*.

For Leinster, Richard Talbot,
William Burton,
John Parnell,
R. Nevill.

For Munster,	Kingsborough,
	Rob. Shapl. Carew,
	Wm. Thos. Monsel,
	Samuel Jacob,
	Arthur Blennerhasset,
	Wm. Godfrey,
	G. Stackpool, *Delegate from Clare.*
For Ulster,	Mervyn Archdall,
	Francis Dobbs,
	Joseph Pollock.
For Connaught,	Lewis Francis Irwin,
	Charles O'Hara,
	John Geoghegan.

The people of the north testified their approbation of the mode in which this great national subject was settled, by addressing His Majesty on the occasion.

ULSTER VOLUNTEERS.

Dungannon, June 12, 1782.

At a meeting of 306 companies of this province, pursuant to public notice, the following address was unanimously agreed upon, and ordered to be presented to His Majesty by the Chairman, Major Francis Dobbs, Captain James Dawson, Captain Francis Evans, and Colonel Thomas Morris Jones.

Colonel William Irvine in the Chair.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Address of the Volunteers of Ulster.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

With the most unfeigned attachment to your Majesty's person and family, we approach your throne. You are our

true and lawful sovereign; and we trust that every act of ours will evince that we are your faithful and loyal subjects.

The Addresses of the Irish Parliament having disclaimed any power or authority, of any sort whatsoever, in the Parliament of Great Britain over this realm, we shall consider an unqualified and unconditional repeal of the statute of the sixth of George the First, by the British Parliament, made in pursuance of the said Addresses, *a complete renunciation* of a principle hostile to the rights of Ireland, and of all the claims contained in the said statute; and as such *we will accept it and deem it satisfactory.* Thus united by the sacred bond of freedom, we request our gracious Sovereign to assure our sister kingdom, that we will be sharers in her fate, standing or falling with the British Empire.

We humbly beg leave to express our gratitude for the appointment of his Grace the Duke of Portland to the Government of Ireland. Prevented by situation from enjoying the presence of our benevolent Sovereign, we rejoice in a Viceroy whose character assures us that he will faithfully discharge the duties of his station.

The economy and retrenchment which your Majesty has been graciously pleased both to recommend and practise, will, we humbly hope, be extended to Ireland. Should a more equal representation of the people be also adopted, our prosperity would be for ever secured, and your Majesty's reign most honourably distinguished in the annals of mankind.

We rejoice in the great and signal success of your Majesty's arms: every enemy must yield to the efforts of a great, a brave, a free, and an united people. Your Majesty's choice of those whom you have entrusted with the administration of public affairs gives us the most heart-

felt satisfaction; public confidence is revived; and we doubt not but your Majesty's Crown and empire will speedily be raised to the highest pinnacle of human glory.

We have ever beheld with admiration your Majesty's domestic virtues. May your Majesty, and the truly great and amiable partner of your Throne, long, long live to bless each other: may the offspring of your happy union reward your parental fondness, by a display of every grace and every virtue: and when, at length, the immutable law of nature shall demand that tribute, which even kings must pay, may your mourning subjects with one voice lament, that the great, the benevolent father of his people is no more.

WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman,
JAMES DAWSON, Secretary.

Another important proceeding is well deserving of attention here; the Roman Catholics had, in the Session of 1782, been restored to the enjoyment of many privileges, and it was supposed that they had taken but little part in recovering the rights of their country. This supposition has been already disproved, and the fact of their ancient and undeviating attachment to liberty has been clearly shown in the preceding pages; and here it will be found that they evinced their gratitude for the benefits they received, as on former occasions they displayed (under every disability) the love they bore their country, and their attachment to the principles of civil and religious freedom.

Though the style and language of their Address

is not that of *freemen*, or of men on an equality with the rest of their fellow-citizens, it yet shows that they were neither ungrateful for the rights restored to them, nor insensible to the great acquisitions their country had just procured.

To his Grace, William-Henry Cavendish, Duke of Portland, Lord Lieutenant-General, and General Governor of Ireland.—The humble address of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

We, his Majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, beg leave to approach your Grace with sincere professions of our affectionate, loyal, and steadfast attachment to the person and family of our most gracious Sovereign, and of our ardent zeal to promote, by every means in our power, the success and glory of his Majesty's arms, and the tranquillity and prosperity of his empire.

With every sentiment of the most unfeigned gratitude to our humane and enlightened legislature, we feel with pleasure *that we are allowed to have a home in our native land; and we shall never forget that the Royal assent* was given by the Duke of Portland *to laws, which in a considerable degree have restored us to the privileges of subjects, and to the rights of men.* Your Grace's known generosity and enlarged mind, encourage us to hope that you will be pleased to represent us to his Majesty, as a body of people capable of returning gratitude for benefits, and not unworthy of his royal protection and favour.

Permit us, my Lord, to *join with the rest of our fellow-subjects* in declaring the high and grateful sense we entertain *of the liberal and tolerant spirit* which so amply

displays your Grace's magnanimity, and of that wise and beneficent conduct, which has so strongly marked your Grace's Administration, and justly obtained the unanimous applause of this nation.—Sept. 12, 1782.

Signed for the Roman Catholics of Ireland,

GORMANSTOWN,
ROBERT CADELL,
ANTHONY DERMOTT.

(ANSWER.)

I return you thanks for this address. The sentiments of loyalty and attachment to his Majesty's Government, which you profess, are the natural result of the indulgences you have lately received from the wisdom and liberality of the Legislature. By persevering in the conduct which has entitled you to them, you can alone recommend yourselves to its further favour and protection.

I am much obliged to you for your professions of personal attachment, and good wishes to myself; and you may be assured that I shall not fail to represent you to his Majesty in the same favourable light in which I have always considered so considerable and respectable a body of his subjects.

It is due to the memory of Lord Charlemont, to his great services, and his uncompromising attachment to the cause of Ireland, to transmit to posterity the following testimonials, presented to him by a spirited and gallant people, as a tribute of respect for his many virtues, and the noble independence of his mind. These addresses and answers speak in a tongue till then unknown, the

pure accents of liberty, and are the fittest tablets to place in the mausoleum of the Irish patriot. Another motive leads to this; a wish to guard against the charge of injustice—lest it should be said that the natural partiality towards a parent had weighed down the balance and caused it to preponderate wholly on one side, to the prejudice of his colleague who took so conspicuous a part in liberating the country, and who is so fully entitled to his share of praise and admiration.

No such partial or unworthy feeling influences the author of these pages. He desires to gather from the dust in which they lay, the laurels of this virtuous Irishman, and to exhibit these unequivocal proofs of a nation's regard for public merit; the just and lasting offerings tendered to exalted patriotism.

But another and more enlarged sentiment has its influence also;—the hope to preserve the scattered remains of his country's glory, and rescue them from oblivion—to show that Ireland was worthy of the name of NATION—that then she stood high, and possessed a proud lineage—generous and gallant sons, in whose bosom—(wounded, but not exhausted)—there breathed a noble spirit and a manly sentiment—a pure love of freedom —a regulated patriotism, and a "*divine passion*" for the land of their birth—that a flame lighted up with vestal purity, and preserved with vestal care, and which once so brightly burned in the hearts of her children, never can be extinguished.

Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet;—

These high-tempered addresses, and fine-toned replies, will perpetuate the memory as well as the lustre of those who adorned their country; they will hand down to after ages their names, their virtues, and their honours; and these proud records of her sons will remain the richest legacy that can be bequeathed to those who are so fortunate as to lay claim to this just inheritance. They will afford a rare example for others to follow—if possible to rival—but which it is not possible to excel.

manibus date lilia plenis
Purpureos spargam flores—animamque .....
His saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani
Munere.

LAWYERS' CORPS.

June 7, 1781.

Resolved unanimously, That the following Address be presented to the Right Hon. the Earl of Charlemont:

My Lord,

When we consider that illegal and unconstitutional restraint, the result of weak and criminal policy, had long oppressed this unhappy nation, we cannot but rejoice that our countrymen, roused to a sense of their own importance, and demanding a restitution of their rights, have opened the glorious prospect of commercial and constitutional freedom.

We feel a virtuous pride, that our endeavours have co-operated with those of the other military associations, and we trust, that a continuance of the patriotic spirit which

first called us together, cannot fail to establish those rights on a solid and permanent foundation.

My Lord, as the attainment of this great purpose was the principal object of our institution, *we are determined to persevere until it shall be accomplished;* and conscious that our brethren have associated with an equal resolution, we are happy in giving your Lordship this opportunity of making these our sentiments known to the great and respectable bodies, who have manifested their spirit, independence, and discernment, in the honourable preference which they have given to your Lordship.

Signed, by order of the Corps,

June 8, 1781. A. N. PEDDER, Colonel.

(ANSWER.)

GENTLEMEN,

Among the many honours heaped upon me by my kind and I fear too partial countrymen, there is none which has given me more heartfelt satisfaction than the truly spirited Address with which you have this day honoured me. The sentiments therein contained must undoubtedly meet with the assent and approbation of every true Irishman, and, coming from a body of men in every particular so respectable, must tend to confirm not only your associates in arms, but all your countrymen, in *those principles, upon a perseverance in which the liberty, the welfare, and the happiness of this kingdom must ultimately depend.* Conscious as I am of this truth, you may be assured that I shall not fail, with the utmost alacrity, to make these your sentiments known to those great and respectable bodies, whose partial goodness has called me to the high honour of acting as their Reviewing General; and this I shall do with the greater pleasure, as I have every reason to be confident that they concur with you both in principle and purpose, and

consequently, that it will make them happy to find their opinions and their intentions strengthened and confirmed by *an authority which must necessarily add weight to their resolutions, and dignity to all their proceedings.*

Permit me, gentlemen, to take this public opportunity of testifying my unbounded gratitude for all your repeated favours—a gratitude which never can end but with my life, and which can only be shown by an unremitting perseverance in that conduct which has procured me your approbation.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your most obliged,
Most faithful and obedient
Humble servant,
June 8, 1781. CHARLEMONT.

June 12, 1781.

At a numerous meeting of the Delegates from the several Volunteer Corps, reviewed at Dublin, on Tuesday, the 5th instant;

Colonel Sir Edward Newenham in the Chair:—

To the Right Honourable James Earl of Charlemont.

MY LORD,

With that reverence for public and domestic virtue which your character inspires, permit us to speak our gratitude to you, my Lord, who, without a thirst for praise, have obtained the admiration of all conditions of men, *by an uniform perseverance in every thing virtuous, laudable, and patriotic.*

We congratulate ourselves in having elected you our Reviewing General, and we want words to express our sense of that politeness with which you received and confirmed our choice; but, we trust that our conduct will be

an honourable testimony of your discernment, and we flatter ourselves, that your name must convince even malignancy of the rectitude of our intentions.

That weak and criminal policy, which restrained our industry and contracted our freedom, operated to stifle every sense of national character, and, if public virtue had not been inherent in the nature of Irishmen, *we should have become a disgrace to the British empire, and the contempt of the world.* We behold with exultation our associated fellow-subjects armed, and ready to oppose the enemies of Britain's prosperity, and at the same time delivering their native country from oppression and reproach. These exertions, we trust, are the forerunners of blessings to our posterity; and we hope, that the honourable preference which we have given to your Lordship, will excite others of your rank to an imitation of your virtues.

Signed by order,

J. T. ASHENHURST, Sec.

(ANSWER.)

GENTLEMEN,

The honours and favours conferred on me by my kind countrymen are so many, so great, and so frequent, that my acknowledgments can in no degree keep pace with their bounty; and language is deficient properly to express the feelings of my heart. Such is my situation in respect of the Address with which you have this day honoured me, wherein with an ardour of kindness, and a profusion of praise, dictated by your goodness, but unwarranted by my merits, you have anticipated me in those thanks which, instead of receiving, I ought to have paid. Yet, however poor I may be in expression, I am rich in gratitude; my heart most sensibly feels your favours, and my life shall be employed in endeavouring to deserve them.

The wonderful exertions of which I have been an admiring witness, while they do honour to every individual, must necessarily be in the highest degree beneficial to the kingdom in general. The advantages derived from them are too many to be recapitulated, neither is such recapitulation in any sort necessary. There is no man among us but knows and confesses their salutary effects. By them *the national character has been exalted, and our country has become an object of universal veneration.* Safe from invasion and insult, we are feared by our enemies, we are admired and respected by our fellow-subjects. To confirm the nation in every species of civil and political welfare, nothing is wanting but a continuance of the same dignified and regulated spirit, of which there can be no doubt. Such are the effects which have arisen from the efforts of those men who have honoured me with their regard—who have selected me as an object of their favour, and placed me high among them! What then must be my feelings? How can I express my acknowledgments? Let my gratitude be measured by the extent of my obligations, and you may, in some degree, be able to judge how sincerely and how ardently

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obliged, most faithful,
and obedient humble servant,
CHARLEMONT.

At a meeting of the officers of the Volunteer Army, assembled at Londonderry, July 26, 1781;

Lieutenant-Colonel Charleton in the Chair:—

Resolved, That we think it expedient that Delegates from the Volunteer Corps, to whom it may be agreeable, do meet at Londonderry, the first Thursday of next May,

to settle the time and place, and all other matters relative to another General Review, in the course of the ensuing summer.

Resolved, That addresses to James, Earl of Charlemont, our Reviewing General, and to Colonel Stewart, our Commanding Officer, now read and approved, be signed in our name, and presented to them by our Chairman.

TO JAMES, EARL OF CHARLEMONT.

My Lord,

It is with pleasure that we embrace the present opportunity of expressing the lively sense which we, and every true Irishman, entertain of your Lordship's virtues, and particularly that laudable attachment to your country, which gives lustre to nobility, and justly claims the esteem and gratitude of a kingdom. We speak the genuine feelings of our hearts, when we assure your Lordship that we are happy in having once more paid you the highest mark of respect in our power to bestow.

Permit us to assure you, that we are still animated by the sentiments which become patriot soldiers, and that we are determined to be invariably influenced by the same regard to our country, for which our fellow-citizens in arms have been so conspicuously distinguished. Your Lordship will suffer us to congratulate you *on the growing prosperity of the excellent cause in which we are engaged.* We are now persuaded that we shall enjoy, without interruption, the blessing of internal peace, and that no foreign enemy will presume to disturb our repose. *But there is a hope, my Lord, still more dear to our hearts; a hope, which nothing but absolute necessity will ever force us to relinquish.* We trust, that to the memorable advantages in matters of a civil nature, already obtained for this kingdom, *our country will be emancipated from every bond, and fully*

reinstated in all the privileges necessary to the entire freedom and independence of the Irish constitution.

It is our sincere and anxious wish that Providence may favour your Lordship with the blessing of health, and spare you many years to enjoy the exalted pleasure which flows from rectitude of conduct, to be an ornament to your country, to animate by your example her patriots, and to see her liberties established on a firm and permanent foundation.

RICHARD CHARLETON, Chairman.

(ANSWER.)

July 28, 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

The address with which you have this day honoured me, is so extremely flattering to every feeling of my heart, that I should vainly attempt to find expressions strong enough to give it an adequate answer—a deficiency which would afford me much uneasiness, did not my own consciousness, and my knowledge of your partial kindness, thoroughly convince me that such an answer is as unnecessary as it would be impossible. You know enough of my political sentiments to be assured, that every idea which you have so nobly expressed is perfectly consonant to my way of thinking, and you may, of course, readily conceive how happy it must make me, to find my own favourite opinions and resolves approved, strengthened, and confirmed by the concurrence of a body of men with whom I shall ever wish to coincide, and for whom I entertain the highest veneration—a body of men, who, together with their worthy associates in arms, have procured to our native country internal peace and tranquillity, security from invasion, and from insult of every kind, and whose virtuous perseverance will infallibly confirm and secure us in the safe and full possession of every blessing, which the

due execution of the laws and constitutional freedom can bestow. Your kind congratulation on the growing prosperity of the excellent cause in which we are engaged, and above all, your assurance of a steady perseverance in those sentiments which can alone become patriot soldiers, must necessarily be in the highest degree pleasing to me; for though I cannot entertain the slightest doubt of the firm adherence of every Irish Volunteer to those principles which are, as it were, the spirit of his profession, yet do I wish that no opportunity may be lost of declaring to the world, the constancy of your resolutions in this important particular. Your experienced partiality also, which necessarily includes a good opinion of my heart, forbids me to doubt that you are for a moment capable of thinking me ungrateful; and such indeed I must be in the highest degree, were I not thoroughly sensible of the favours and honours which you have heaped upon me. To find myself a second time the object of your unsolicited choice—to be exalted to the highest station in an army of freemen—to be called upon to receive the greatest pleasure of which my heart is capable—an opportunity of viewing the splendid effects of your spirit and perseverance—of beholding your numbers doubled, your discipline perfected, and, above all, your zeal in the cause of liberty, constant and undiminished:—such are the favours which your goodness has bestowed, such are the obligations under which you have laid me. Can it be then needful that I should endeavour to make you sensible of the extent of my gratitude? Surely no; your own hearts, far better than my words, will inform you with what ardour and sincerity,

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your most obliged,
Most faithful and obedient humble servant,
CHARLEMONT.

At a Meeting of the Officers and Deputies of the Volunteer Corps reviewed at Newry, on the 20th and 21st days of August, 1781;

Lieutenant Colonel Dawson in the Chair:—

Resolved, That the Address now read be signed by our Chairman, and presented to our Reviewing General, the Earl of Charlemont.

MY LORD,

Trained to the arts, and nurtured in the bosom of peace, a love of our country first prompted us to learn the use of arms, and called us to the field;—happy if our recent military exhibition has approved our assiduity, evinced our zeal, and in any degree merited your Lordship's commendation,—whom we cannot but feel the most sensible pleasure in having had our Reviewing General, when we contemplate the well-known integrity, virtue, perseverance, and steady attachment to the cause of Ireland and the rights of the people, which so justly *entitles you to the illustrious character of Patriot, and gives that respectability and true dignity, which no rank, no faction, can of itself command.* We are highly gratified by the honour you have done us, and not a little proud to boast of being numbered among the Volunteer armies which your Lordship has reviewed this summer; rejoicing in the hopes, that you have found us all increased in numbers, improved in discipline, and firmly united in the great and glorious cause which at first gave birth to our associations. Though we reflect with pleasure, my Lord, on the great and meritorious exertions we have made, by which our enemies have been discouraged from their more than probable schemes of invading this island, while the regularity, internal peace, and good order of the country have been

effectually established, yet like true and watchful citizens, we cannot avoid casting an anxious eye to the most important object of all—*our rights as freemen*—the first of human blessings, dearer to us than life, and which we can never lose sight of. It is, therefore, with the utmost impatience we await that period, which we trust is not far off, when we shall see them perfectly secured, by the re-establishment of the Irish Constitution, in all its parts. With heartfelt delight we congratulate your Lordship on a prospect which promises so many advantages to this, while it will give such additional strength to our sister kingdom, *by binding us yet closer together, and for ever, with the safe, tender, and lasting ties of mutual interest, confidence and affection.* The same zeal which pervades your Lordship's breast, makes us anticipate, in imagination, the joy and satisfaction we shall feel on that happy day, when every cause of jealousy and discord between the two kingdoms shall be done away. We are convinced, that you will deem it the happiest in your life, who so warmly interest yourself in the welfare of the British empire. May you live long in health to see this effected, and enjoy the satisfaction of beholding the whole of the British empire, a free, happy, and united people. This, my Lord, is our sincere wish; and we further beg leave to intreat your Lordship to accept of our most unfeigned thanks, as a small tribute of acknowledgment to the merit of a nobleman whose conduct and virtues deserve every mark of distinction from his admiring and grateful countrymen.

Signed by order,
THOMAS DAWSON, Chairman.

ANSWER.

Aug. 22, 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

Permit me to return you my most sincere thanks for the high honour conferred on me by your address, the constitutional spirit of which affords me a pleasure which can scarcely be equalled, even by that which I feel from the kind partiality of its expressions. The honours conferred on individuals are only material as they tend to advance the common cause, and to promulgate the strength of national sentiment. It is, therefore, that, even in this light, I consider *your address as a sound declaration of constitutional principles*, and myself the happy and honoured instrument through which such sentiments are conveyed.

Be assured, Gentlemen, that you do me but strict justice, when you suppose, that, in all those interesting points, upon which you have so zealously and so properly expressed your hopes and your wishes, my feelings are precisely the same as yours; my judgment and my heart coincide in assenting to every idea you have uttered.

The increase of your numbers, the *improvement of your discipline, the strict and unremitting regularity of your conduct, and the constancy of your spirit in the cause of liberty and of arms*, are most undoubtedly an object of wonder to all men, and of peculiar delight to every true Irishman. Continue them, and you must prevent every direct attack upon the rights of your country, and secret enemies will be converted into innoxious spectators, or open admirers.

I have nothing more to add on my own account, except to return you my most sincere acknowledgments for the protection you have afforded to my liberty and property, and for the distinction with which you have marked my

person. After a recapitulation of such favours, is it necessary that I should assure you of the sincere and ardent gratitude with which

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obliged, most faithful,
and obedient humble servant,
CHARLEMONT.

LIMERICK REVIEW.

At a meeting of Delegates from the different Corps, reviewed near Limerick, 29th and 30th of August, by the Right Honourable the Earl of Charlemont;—Colonel John Thomas Waller, in the Chair:—

Resolved, That the Address to the Earl of Charlemont, our Reviewing General, be signed and presented to him, by our Chairman.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Charlemont.

We beg leave to return your Lordship our warmest and most sincere acknowledgments, for the high honour you have conferred on us, in complying with our request, to review this part of the Southern Volunteer Army.

We feel in common with the rest of our countrymen, that you have ever been among the foremost in asserting the rights of this nation—rights obtained by the joint efforts of a people, animated in the cause of liberty, and determined to be free; and we do assure your Lordship, that we have the most perfect reliance on those virtues, and that ability, which have rendered the name of

CHARLEMONT illustrious in the present, and will immortalize it to future ages.

We have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

and most humble servants,

By order,

J. T. WALLER, Chairman.

(ANSWER.)

August 31, 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

Permit me to return you my most sincere and grateful acknowledgments for your kind address, and for the high and unexpected honour you have conferred on me, by appointing me to be your Reviewing General, a preference which must, in every respect, be dear to me, but more particularly so, when I reflect, that I can possibly owe it to no other cause than your good opinion. For this cause, I am proud to say it, and this alone, you have bestowed upon me the highest honour in your power to grant, or in mine to receive—upon me, unconnected with you by any tie of neighbourhood or personal acquaintance — upon me, a stranger; thereby proving and declaring to the world, that your choice can only be influenced by a similarity of sentiment and of principle, and that no man is by you accounted a stranger, who heartily and sincerely joins with you in professing the same political faith, and who proves by his actions, *that such profession is the genuine creed of his heart, the only religion in which we are, and ought to be, intolerant!* Under these circumstances, I need not, I am sure, fruitlessly labour, by endeavouring to express the gratitude of my heart for the honour I have now received, an honour great in itself, and which becomes still more dear to me, when I consider it as the means

through which I have enjoyed the unspeakable pleasure of beholding that glorious array which has been exhibited at the late review, of seeing in these southern parts of the kingdom, the same ardour, the same regularity, the same discipline, the same indications of perseverance; in a word, the same spirit prevail, as that to which I have been an admiring witness in those more northern provinces with which I am more immediately connected, and to which my observation had hitherto been limited.

Neither is the pleasure I have felt upon this occasion, by any means confined to that common delight, which every uninterested person must receive, *in viewing your military pomp and splendour. The impression made upon my mind, is of a nature far more important, far more delightful, while, reflecting on its tendency, I behold in your array, the prosperity, the safety, and the liberty of my country.*

I cannot conclude, without intreating you to accept my most sincere congratulations upon the late glorious vindication of the natural and uncontrovertible rights of this, till now, oppressed country—rights, which, as you well express it, have been obtained by the joint efforts of *a people, animated in the cause of liberty, and determined to be free;* an event at which not only every Irishman, but every lover of liberty throughout the world, must rejoice; but which must more especially affect you, who, in concurrence with the rest of your brave countrymen, have, by your virtuous perseverance in the cause of freedom, had so large a share in producing it.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obliged, most faithful, and
Most obedient humble servant,
CHARLEMONT.

BELFAST MEETING.

At a meeting of the representatives of thirty-six volunteer corps, assembled at Belfast, St. Patrick's-day, 1782. Hon. Col. Rowley, in the chair:—

Resolved unanimously, That a review be held at Belfast, on Wednesday, the 31st day of July next, of the corps here represented, and of such other corps as shall return themselves to the secretary of this meeting, before the first day of June next.

Resolved unanimously, That the Earl of Charlemont be again requested to do us the honour of being our Reviewing General—that we invite him, because he gives *true lustre* to nobility—discharges the *duties* of his rank—and evinces by his conduct, that he *deserves* to be a peer.

(ANSWER.)

Dublin, March 25, 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

With the utmost pleasure, alacrity, and thankfulness, I again accept of the high honour you have been pleased to confer on me, and can only answer your repeated favours by a repetition of unfeigned thanks, by a continuation of heart-felt gratitude, and by a strenuous perseverance in my endeavours to render myself worthy of your favour.

When first you chose me your Reviewing General, I considered your choice as the highest honour I could ever enjoy; but every succeeding preference increases that honour, and adds new pleasure to the satisfaction which I at first experienced, by inducing me to flatter myself that your knowledge of me has in no sort lessened your kind, though, I fear, partial opinion, and that my subsequent

conduct has been such as to meet with your continued approbation.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obliged, faithful, and
Obedient humble servant,
CHARLEMONT.

At a meeting of the Armagh Light Dragoons, the 15th day of April, 1782, Thomas Clarke, Esq., in the chair.

To the Right Hon. James, Earl of Charlemont.

MY LORD,

We beg leave to add our troop to the numerous corps already under your Lordship's command. Numerous as already are the volunteers of Ireland, we hope your Lordship will consider their increase at this period of national expectation as no unpromising omen of the spirit and principles of this country, that spirit and those principles which it has been your Lordship's study to cultivate, and which seem at length about to be crowned with their natural, yet with astonishing success.

We congratulate your Lordship on events which must yield such sincere, such exalted pleasure, to one who feels like your Lordship, for the welfare and glory of his country, and, like your Lordship, must be conscious that he contributed a noble share.

We now glory in our country, we now glory in the name of Irishmen, and on whatever occasion, and in whatever situation, it shall be our study not to disgrace the name.

Signed, by order,
THOMAS CLARKE, Chairman.

(ANSWER.)

Dublin, April 28, 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

Permit me to return you my most sincere acknowledgments, first, for the grand accession of strength, which, by your spirited association, you have added to the regiment I have the honour to command; and next, for your having appointed me your captain, an office which I accept with pleasure and with gratitude, and which, however unequal to the task, I will endeavour, as far as in me lies, properly to execute.

I heartily rejoice in every increase of the volunteer army, and join with you in considering such increase, at this important period, as a sure indication of the unabating prevalence of that spirit, *and of those principles, which are the firmest foundation, and the best security, for national liberty and consequent happiness.*

With the utmost gratitude I receive your kind felicitations, and congratulate our country upon the glorious prospect which is now open to us; assuring you, that I shall ever consider any share which I, in concurrence with my virtuous fellow-citizens, may have had in bringing about those great and happy events to which your address alludes, as the first honour and blessing of my life.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obliged, faithful, and
Obedient humble servant,
CHARLEMONT.

STRABANE REVIEW.

At a meeting of the officers of the volunteer army, reviewed at Strabane, on the 18th and 19th of July, 1782, Colonel James Alexander, in the chair :—

Resolved, That the addresses to the Earl of Charlemont, our Reviewing General, to Colonel Stewart, our Commanding Officer, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Charleton, second in command, now read and approved, be signed in our name, and presented to them by the chairman.

To General the Earl of Charlemont.

My Lord,

We beg leave most respectfully to assure you, that we, and the corps to which we belong, are very sensible of the honour of being reviewed by your Lordship upon the present occasion. However imperfect we may have appeared to you in a military capacity, we wish to excel, and are particularly ambitious to merit your Lordship's approbation. Though from our situation, it cannot be expected that we should be complete soldiers, we feel with conscious pride, that we continue to be animated by the spirit and principles which have ever distinguished Irish volunteers. How delightful, my Lord, to that spirit, and to those principles, that we have lived to see the day, the happy, the glorious day, which is now opening to our view the prospect of a perfect emancipation from every bond—that we have lived to be inspired with the pleasing hope of seeing Ireland, our beloved country, regain her lost honours, her name, her just and original rights, and the respectable consequence to which she is entitled amidst the nations of Europe.—*Next to the auspicious 15th of February*, the 16th of April†, 1782, will shine in the annals*

* When the Roman Catholic relief was agreed to.

† When the address on Irish rights was agreed to.

of the nation with resplendent lustre. Supported by the prudence, by the magnanimity of our fellow citizens in arms, and by the determined, unanimous sentiments of the people, then it was that our Parliament represented our grievances to Majesty, with a dignity becoming the peers of Ireland, and worthy of the representatives of a nation born to enjoy the privileges of freedom. Permit us, my Lord, to dwell for a moment on this important transaction, and its immediate consequences: they shed the first general ray upon our prospect, and are the foundation of our confidence. Upon that memorable occasion the Lords, in their address to the Throne, with a view to the repeal of the 6th of George I., declared it to be a grievance; asserted that Ireland is an Independent Kingdom, and that none but our King, with our Lords and Commons, are competent to make laws to bind us. We are happy, my Lord, that upon the same subject, the Commons in their address are full and explicit; that they denied any Parliament, except our own, to have power or authority, of any sort whatsoever, in this country; that they declared this principle to be the very essence of our liberties, a principle not to be yielded up but with their lives. It gives us particular pleasure, that their reasons for desiring a repeal of the English Declaratory Act, so expressly point out the claims of the British Parliament to legislate for us, which it advances, as that which makes it injurious to our rights, and the chief cause of the discontents and jealousies of this kingdom.

We could have no dependence on the faith of our sister country, as renouncing all pretensions of making laws to bind Ireland, did we imagine that she made, with respect to us, the least distinction betwixt the right of external and internal legislation;—a distinction which we have ever reprobated, being founded on usurpation, and totally inconsistent with our privileges.

The national benefits we have received, reflect peculiar honour upon the patriotic administration of the Duke of Portland, for whose personal virtues we have a high esteem, and to whose celebrated ancestor the friends of liberty in these kingdoms, at a most critical period, were exceedingly indebted.

Our loyalty to the King, we trust, we shall always retain with unremitting zeal, whilst we retain the firmness and the principle, which, by the blessing of Providence, have been the means of this great revolution. You, my Lord, who have had so large and honourable a share in it, must feel the advantages resulting from it to your country, with exquisite sensibility. With the warmth of respect and affection, we thank your Lordship for the public spirit, for the steady, persevering exertions in behalf of the rights of Ireland, by which you have been so eminently distinguished. Sentiments inspired by such obligations cannot be transient; they will accompany us to the grave, and our children's children, exulting in the blessings of freedom, for which you have so nobly contended, will remember the virtues of Charlemont with esteem, with gratitude, and veneration.

JAMES ALEXANDER, Chairman.

(ANSWER.)

July 20, 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

As in every communication with my friends it is necessary for me to follow and obey the immediate impulse and dictates of my heart, I find myself compelled, previous even to the acknowledgments which are so justly your due, to pour forth my soul in those seasonable congratulations, which are, and ought to be, the peculiar topic of every communication between Irishmen at this auspicious pe-

riod. Yes, my dear countrymen and fellow-soldiers, your virtuous efforts have prevailed, and you are now free; in which comprehensive word, every species of happiness and of prosperity is virtually included. Your gracious Sovereign, aided by the counsels of a wise and just administration, and supported by the affectionate feelings of our beloved sister country, has kindly yielded to the unanimous wishes and rightful claims of Ireland and of its Parliament; and every thing essentially noxious to your constitutional rights is now done away, some internal regulations alone excepted, which must necessarily take place under the influence of national spirit, through the firmness and wisdom of your Representatives, whose successful unanimity has pledged them to proceed in the great work of perfecting the constitution. The two kingdoms are now united by the indissoluble bonds of mutual liberty and consequent affection,—the only tie by which freemen can be joined;—and may they ever remain so, to the firm establishment of their perpetual prosperity, and to the terror of all their enemies.

With you, my dearest countrymen, I sincerely concur, in consecrating to eternal memory, the glorious 15th* of February, 1782, conscious as I am of the salutary effects produced by the proceedings of that day; and with you I reprobate the distinction between external and internal legislation,—a distinction, however, which I trust will never be insisted upon, and which, I am confident, only exists in the crude ideas of a few imprudent individuals.

What you mention respecting our present excellent chief Governor, affords me the highest satisfaction, as our sentiments perfectly agree. I have had much experience of his character. He is a *man whose mind cannot be de-*

* The Roman Catholic Bill of Relief.

bauched or warped, even by his station; a statesman without disguise, and a politician without deceit. Superior to all little arts, he knows no other method of carrying a point, but to show those, whom he is appointed to govern, that he labours only for their advantage. *Born a Whig, and educated in the school of true policy, his hereditary love of liberty is heightened and adorned by the peculiar qualities and graces of his judgment and of his heart;* and I am confident that he will ever esteem it the happiest and most glorious event of his life, that he was called upon to announce and to establish the freedom of a nation. Such is the man who now rules over us. Heaven, in its approved goodness to this country, grant that he may long remain our Governor!

Give me leave, in the next place, to congratulate you upon the appearance you have made at this late review, and to assure you, that it has exceeded even my sanguine expectations. When I last saw you, I thought your discipline complete; but you, I find, have the facility of going far beyond my ideas of perfection. I will not attempt to explain to you the feelings of my heart upon this subject; —indeed, it is unnecessary. Let my delight, at being an eye-witness to your exertions, be measured by that which I must feel from the effects which those exertions have produced. Yet, though, after having been gratified in the great object of your wishes, contentment is a virtue necessary, not only to your own happiness, but to the welfare of the state, let not that induce you, in any degree, to relax in those strenuous efforts which have hitherto marked your name with honour. *The defence of your country calls for your perseverance, and freedom, however well established by law, must ever be precarious, if the people are not able to protect their rights.*

Please to accept my most sincere acknowledgments for the kind warmth of your address, and particularly for the honourable share you have allotted me in the great revolution which has been lately produced. If I have had any share in these wonderful occurrences, the only merit I can arrogate to myself is, that I was willing;—that I have been able, my virtuous fellow-soldiers, is your gift.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obliged, faithful,
and obedient humble servant,
CHARLEMONT.

At a meeting of the Loughinschillen Battalion and Glenwood Foresters, reviewed on Toome Strand, the 29th of July,—Colonel Staples, in the chair,

Resolved unanimously, That the following Address be presented to the Earl of Charlemont:—

MY LORD,

We do not presume to address your Lordship, from a supposition that any thing we can say will add lustre to a character so eminently distinguished by every public and private virtue, but from a wish to express our gratitude for the inestimable blessings which you have been so highly instrumental in obtaining for this kingdom, and for that contentment which now generally prevails throughout this country, resulting from a conviction, that our liberty is most effectually established, and must remain secured to us, so long as we continue united among ourselves.

That degree of perfection to which the volunteers of

Ulster are arrived, must, in a great measure, be attributed to the uncommon pains which your Lordship has taken to promote that desirable end; and we flatter ourselves, that the honour you have done us this day, will greatly tend to our advancement in military discipline. The only, and we are convinced the most acceptable return which we can make your Lordship, for so marked a favour, is to assure you, we shall steadily persevere in those principles which first united us, and prove ourselves, upon all occasions, faithful and affectionate subjects to his Majesty, and zealous supporters of the rights of Ireland.

JOHN STAPLES, Chairman.

(ANSWER.)

July 29, 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

With the greatest satisfaction I have this day beheld your exertions, and am happy in the opportunity you have given me, of having seen a body of men whom I had not, till now, had the honour to review, vieing in appointment, in discipline, and in every military quality, with those great bodies which have so often been the objects of my admiration.

Please to accept my most sincere acknowledgments for the honour and kindness of your Address, and give me leave to assure you, that nothing can be more truly grateful to me, than the testimony you therein give, of that content which ought, in my opinion, to be universal, and which I doubt not, will, upon mature consideration, ere long, spread itself over all the land. Our rights, my dear countrymen, have been vindicated; our constitution has been restored; and nothing now remains to give security and stability to our happiness, but an unremitting per-

severance in those glorious exertions which have had so large a share in procuring it.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obliged, faithful,
and obedient humble servant,
CHARLEMONT.

At a meeting of Delegates from sixty-five corps, reviewed near Belfast, July 31, and the 1st and 2nd of August, 1782,—Colonel Stewart in the Chair:—

Resolved unanimously, That the following Address be signed by our chairman, and presented to the Earl of Charlemont, General of the Volunteer Army in the Province of Ulster.

MY LORD,

We have had the honour of seeing you thrice our Reviewing General;—your great and respectable character led us first to request your reviewing us, and afterwards to renew our election. We will not use many words, for words are inadequate to our ideas. *We feel that you have been among the foremost in obtaining the rights of your country*, and we are convinced that your feelings will do justice to our sentiments.

R. STEWART, Chairman.

(ANSWER.)

August 4, 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

Whatever pleasure I must at all times have felt in seeing you under arms, I have upon this late occasion beheld your array with redoubled delight; not so much on account

of your perfected discipline, *and your astonishing success in the new line of military manœuvres*, which you have now for the first time adopted, as from that association of ideas which must naturally arise in my mind,—when I contemplate, in *your array, one principal cause of those glorious events by which the constitutional rights of my country have been vindicated, and her liberty restored*,—when I view you, not only as men who deserve to be free, but as an army of freemen—not only as the assertors, but as the restorers of Irish freedom.—Permit me then, my friends and fellow-soldiers, with an exultation of heart that baffles all expression, to congratulate you on the late happy and glorious change in the constitution of Ireland, with which heaven has rewarded your virtue, assuring you, that, as no man could more sensibly feel than I did the depression of his country, so is there none who more gratefully acknowledges, and more sincerely rejoices in its present exaltation.

Give me leave from my heart to thank you for all your repeated favours, particularly for your kind and truly honourable reception of me as your general, and for the share you have had in exalting me to that high dignity; an elevation which leaves ungratified no wish of my ambition, excepting that of being able in some degree to merit it. By putting me at the head of an army of men whose spirit and whose principles have produced such wonderful effects, you have fully and in the strongest manner declared your opinion of my principles and of my spirit. Is there upon earth any honour which can equal such an opinion from such men? Yes, my kind and generous countrymen, one honour there is, which fully equals, and perhaps surpasses it; and that also your lavish goodness has conferred on me, by ranking me among the foremost in obtaining the rights of Ireland—*rights which*

our joint efforts have obtained, and which shall never again be wrested from us. If the most ardent zeal in a cause, the prosperity of which has ever been the first object of my soul, can stand in the place of ability, I may indeed have deserved this first of all commendations, since in that species of merit, I will yield to no man. But the deed rewards itself; and the ample success with which my wishes have been crowned, would have far over-paid all my desert, even though my kind and partial country had not in addition heaped upon me a succession of honours, which I never could deserve, and never shall forget.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obliged, faithful,
And obedient humble servant,
CHARLEMONT.

BALLINCOLLIG REVIEW.

At a meeting of the commanding officers of the different Volunteer Corps of Cavalry and Infantry of the county and city of Cork, the 15th of September, the right honourable Lord Doneraile in the chair,

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to draw up a proper address to the right honourable the Earl of Charlemont, our reviewing-general.

To His Excellency General Lord Charlemont.

MY LORD,

We, the delegates of the volunteer corps of the county and city of Cork, reviewed by your Lordship on the 11th inst., most heartily embrace this opportunity of conveying to you those sentiments of gratitude and admiration, which a life of undeviating political virtue has merited from your fellow-

subjects of this land, nor can we repress the feelings excited in our breasts by your recent exertions in the attainment of our constitutional rights.

We should think it, however, my Lord, some violation of that perfect confidence we repose in your integrity, if we kept any reserve with your Lordship, and to the punctilios of address, sacrificed the sincerity of representation.

We now enjoy the invaluable blessings of a free constitution; and all who do, must be zealous to perpetuate it. Permit us, therefore, to declare that we shall ever be jealous of any Ministerial attempt (be it disguised under whatever artifice or name ingenuity may suggest,) to degrade the volunteers of this kingdom into a species of useless militia;* possibly to be influenced by other principles than those which first excited, and we trust will continue to direct, the Irish Associations.

We cannot, my Lord, close these imperfect expressions of the high sense we entertain of your Lordship's private virtues and political principles, *without congratulating our country on that national harmony* which the choice of you (the distinguished leader of our respected brethren of the north) to review the volunteer forces of the south, incontestibly demonstrates. And we ardently confide that your Lordship's name will prove to the latest hour of a long and honourable life, the bond of volunteer confederacy.

DONERAILE, Chairman.

* The idea of introducing a militia was intended, but being disrelished by the people, was afterwards abandoned.

(ANSWER.)

September 24, 1782.

GENTLEMEN,

In writing to men of your principles, I should esteem myself wanting in duty, if I did not seize the first opportunity of congratulating you upon the late glorious events, by which this long-oppressed kingdom has at length been restored to her natural and constitutional rights; events which, however wonderful they may at first sight appear, cease to be so when we consider the concurrent causes by which they have been produced. The magnanimity of a gracious sovereign wishing to rule over free men—the wisdom of a just and patriotic Ministry, which seemed to be destined, by the restoration of liberty, to restore the empire—the singular and unprecedented virtue of a Chief Governor, the aim and purpose of whose Administration was to establish the rights of Ireland—*a Parliament unanimous in the cause of freedom—and a people resolved to be free:*—from such causes, the effects to which we have been witnesses naturally follow; and the wonder would have been if it had been otherwise. But, of all men, to me these events must appear the most natural,—to me, who, called on by the kind partiality of my countrymen, have been eye-witness, through the greater part of the island, to their astonishing exertions in the cause of their country—who have now, through your goodness, had an opportunity of observing *the same patriotic spirit, the same military ardour, the same discipline extending itself from the most northern parts of this kingdom, even to its southern limits*—who have seen and known the people of Ireland—and who, in consequence of that experience, *must conclude that such a people cannot be enslaved—that a country so inhabited must be free!*

I sincerely join with you in condemning the measure to which you allude; but am happy in thinking that nothing will ever be able to induce the volunteers of Ireland to quit their present most honourable station, for any other service whatsoever; confident, as I am, that the associated army is not only the bulwark of our Constitution, but that its permanency and increase will be more effectual to the defence of the kingdom against all invaders, than any other plan that can be devised;—a truth of which I am persuaded our brethren in arms are thoroughly sensible.

Respecting your appearance and conduct in the field, as I cannot find words adequate to my feelings, I think it better to be silent. Let it suffice to say, that the pleasure I have felt in beholding your exertions, has been fully equal even to the honour which I have received from your unsolicited choice,—*an honour far transcending the pageant of rank or title, inasmuch as it can only be conferred by the unbiassed love and esteem of a people* whose character throughout the world is such as to render their approbation the stamp of merit.

Your kind and truly honourable address, requires in the next place my most grateful acknowledgments, and must necessarily be considered as a sequel to that unequalled goodness which induced you to make choice of me for your reviewing-general, thereby marking, in the fullest manner, the opinion you entertain of my principles, and of my zeal for my country's service. Yes, my dear and virtuous countrymen, *with conscious pride I do profess that the love of Ireland has ever been the ruling passion of my soul! I loved her even when she was less amiable*; even in her depression I clearly discovered the seeds of those glorious qualities which have lately expanded themselves to the astonishment of mankind, and sought every means within the compass of my poor abilities, *to preserve and to nourish*

those latent sparks, which would, I well knew, at the destined period, burst into light! I loved her in her utmost humiliation. What must I now do in her state of exaltation and of glory?—Such, my fellow-soldiers, is the present situation of your beloved country. *You are free—you are happy in the attainment of your constitutional rights, principally through the exertions of your own spirit, your own virtue.*

Yet, as a state of prosperity is the situation of all others when prudent precaution is more likely to be laid asleep, give me leave to remind you of the necessity which still remains for a continuation of unremitting vigilance; remember, that though you now enjoy the inestimable objects of all your wishes, an equal perseverance in those astonishing efforts which have rendered the name of Irishman respectable through all the world, must still be maintained, for the defence of that country, which, since its late emancipation, must be dearer to you than ever for the support of your sister nation, now truly a sister; and for the maintenance of the crown and dignity of your most gracious Sovereign. Remember, also, that the same unremitting perseverance, by which liberty is obtained, is necessary to preserve it, and that the strength and spirit of the people is the only firm and perpetual security for the freedom of the state.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obliged, faithful,
And devoted, humble servant,
CHARLEMONT.

CHAPTER XIV.

Increase of the navy.—King's speech relative to Ireland.—Lord Charlemont.—New discontents and their origin.—Conduct of Mr. Flood.—He agitates for express renunciation.—Mr. Flood's motion.—Mr. Grattan's resolutions.—Sinister proceedings of pseudo patriots.—Lord Abingdon.—His character.—Bill moved by him to defeat the late concessions to Ireland.—Bad effects of it in Ireland.—Further causes of discontent.—The volunteers.—The lawyers' corps.—Conduct of Mr. Fox.—The question of simple repeal argued.—Dangers and evils of the new proceedings.—Fatal consequences of misgovernment.—Disputes about words.—Parallel between Ireland and America.—The revolution of 1688.—Sir Jonah Barrington and Mr. Grattan.—Opinion of the great law authorities on the question of simple repeal.—Sagacity and firmness of Mr. Grattan.—Case submitted for opinion.—Nine Irish judges in favour of Mr. Grattan and Mr. Fox—Lord Kenyon—Lord Erskine—Sir Arthur Piggott—and Sir Samuel Romilly's opinion of the case of simple repeal.—Singular change in Mr. Grattan's popularity.—Lord Charlemont's remarks on this subject.—Mr. Hardy—His character.—Death of Lord Rockingham—His character.—Mr. Pitt—Slave Trade—Mr. Fox—Lord John Russell.—Letters from Mr. Pery to Mr. Grattan—and Mr. Grattan in reply.

THE vote of the Irish Parliament to raise 20,000 men, came at this period very opportunely, and was much required; for, in a few months after this, the British minister found it necessary to increase the navy by a vote of 110,000 men. Ad-

miral Keppel sent to Ireland one of the ablest and most active officers of the navy, to receive the Irish recruits, with an assurance, that if supplied, he could equip fourteen ships of the line for the fleet that Lord Howe was destined to command. Accordingly the City and County of Dublin Volunteers, headed by Lord Charlemont, assembled, and resolved to adopt the plan which Captain McBride, (the naval officer sent over) had submitted to them; and arrangements were immediately made to supply clothing and bounty to those volunteers who chose to enter the service of the navy.

His Majesty alluded to these exertions in his speech at the closing of the session of the English Parliament, on the 11th of July, where he states, "The zeal which my subjects in Ireland have expressed for the public service, shows that the liberality of the proceedings towards them is felt there as it ought, and has engaged their affections equally with their duty and interest, in the common cause."

This important measure, however, received a check, owing to the conduct of some interested and jealous individuals, who endeavoured to spread abroad a spirit of discontent respecting the repeal of the 6th of George the First. This discontent Lord Charlemont alludes to in his letter to Lord Rockingham, where he says, "this I have endeavoured, and shall labour by every means in my power to remove, even though my popularity

should be hazarded by such an attempt; for, however dearly I may hold the love of the people, if a constant perseverance in the service of my country cannot retain it, I should account it neither honourable nor satisfactory." Such was the wise opinion, and the well-regulated feeling, entertained by this dignified popular leader. In the same letter he adds, "I am extremely obliged to your Lordship for your kind alacrity in carrying into execution the vote of the House of Commons in behalf of my friend Grattan. No man has ever merited more from his country than he has done; and his present conduct, in labouring with me to check the ill effects which, without our united efforts, might have been produced by the exertions of the discontented, is, in my opinion, a continuation of his merits."

The origin of this discontent, to which Lord Charlemont here alludes, may be attributed in some degree to the following circumstances:— Mr. Flood was not restored to his seat in the Privy Council, nor to his office of 3,500*l.* a-year, both of which he had been so unjustly deprived of by the preceding administration. No vote or grant was made to him by the House of Commons, although suggested at the time when the resolutions were passed in favour of Mr. Grattan. The public measures, too, were all pre-occupied. Mr. Grattan had moved the declaration of rights, and also the address, and had carried both;

he had brought in a Bill respecting the final judicature, and a Bill to repeal the perpetual Mutiny Act. Mr. Yelverton brought in a Bill to regulate the passing of Irish Acts, and to repeal Poyning's Law; he brought in another Bill to secure property in Ireland, and confirm English statutes. Mr. Forbes brought in a Bill to secure the independence of the judges, and make their offices continue during good behaviour. Sir Edward Newenham brought in a Bill to secure the freedom of elections, and to prevent revenue officers from voting. Thus all the important measures were pre-occupied, and nothing was left for Mr. Flood.

It happened, also, very unfortunately, that a British Act had just passed, regulating the importation of sugars, in which Ireland, though not mentioned, was supposed to be comprehended in the general terms. It was the error of the clerk —the result of a mistake; and one that time and temper would soon adjust, as no principle was in dispute.

Mr. Grattan noticed this circumstance on the 13th of June; and then it was that Mr. Flood started the doctrine of simple repeal. The question had not been stated in the House of Commons before; and when an objection was made by Sir Samuel Bradstreet, in the presence of Mr. Flood, some days prior, it appeared of so little consequence, that scarce any notice was taken of

it; and Mr. Flood made no remark upon it whatsoever.

He now, however, objected that the Bill proposed in the English House to repeal the 6th of George I. was simple repeal, and that it did not contain a renunciation of the principle, and did not prevent the revival of the right at any future period. He contended that the mere repeal of a declaratory law, did not affect the principle, but left the law exactly where it found it; and he insisted that the renunciation by England of her claim, was necessary for Ireland; and that it became requisite to obtain legal security against the resumption of the right. Accordingly, on the 11th of June, he moved, with reference to the connexion of the two kingdoms, the following Resolution—"That a solid basis of permanent connexion does at present subsist between Great Britain and Ireland, inasmuch as they must by law have one common Sovereign; and that the approbation of that Sovereign, under the Great Seal of England, must be had to any bill, before it can become law in Ireland."

This proposition was opposed by Mr. Yelverton and Mr. Daly, and was superseded by the order of the day. Mr. Flood, however, persevered in his objection to the English Act,—and this idea was taken up in various parts of the country, and by his exertions he made it popular, and it soon became general. Some of the volunteer corps,

and in particular those of Belfast, excited in no small degree by Lord Beauchamp, who spoke and wrote a good deal upon the occasion, applied for an Irish Bill of Rights as necessary. Others called for an express renunciation by Great Britain; others for an Irish Act of Parliament. Accordingly, Mr. Flood on the 19th of July recapitulated the arguments;—he said that the simple repeal did not renounce the principle—that nothing but a complete renunciation of it would satisfy—that legal security was necessary—that the repeal of the declaratory law did nothing—that it left the right just as before. He concluded by moving for leave to bring in a Bill declaring "the sole and exclusive right of the Irish Parliament to make laws in all cases whatsoever, external and internal."

Mr. Flood was only supported by three Members, Mr. English, Mr. Walsh, and Sir Samuel Bradstreet; and the motion was negatived without a division.

Mr. Grattan then proposed a Resolution, stating that any person who maintained that Ireland was not independent, was inimical to the peace of both kingdoms. He, however, withdrew this, and moved "that leave was refused to bring in the Bill, because the sole and exclusive right of legislation in the Irish Parliament in all cases whether internally or externally, hath been already asserted by Ireland, and fully, finally, and irrevo-

cably acknowledged by the British Parliament." This Resolution was carried without a division.

In the English House of Commons too there were not wanting individuals to avail themselves of this new popular ebullition in Ireland, or rather this delirium—men who had remained inactive when the rights and the liberties of the people were in danger, and who now sought to acquire popularity by finding fault with the measures of others, whom they had viewed sometimes with hostility, sometimes with jealousy, and never had cordially supported; men such as these now came forward, were very busy, and extremely loquacious;—just as in battle, when the breach is made, every coward may enter, but his activity is generally a proof that the victory is won and the difficulties are over.

The opposition, however, that came from an English quarter, bore the appearance of greater danger and more weight. It happened still more unfortunately for the restoration of that confidence, so much to be desired between the two countries, and so long wanted, that at this critical juncture the Earl of Abingdon should have come forward in the British Parliament, to submit a most imprudent and mischievous proposition, as if "*to embroil the fray by which he reigns.*" On the 5th of July he asked for leave to bring in a Bill which he had already prepared, and which after a few words, he got the clerk to read from begin-

ning to end. The Bill was, in fact, his speech, probably prompted by others, who were afraid of avowing such doctrines, and who had induced this individual so to act.

Lord Abingdon was an eccentric character. He was said to have been educated at Geneva, and to have imbibed there the principles of democracy. However this may have been, there were certainly no democratic principles apparent in his measure; on the contrary, it savoured most strongly of arbitrary power; it asserted the very principle of legislation over Ireland, which England at that moment was surrendering; it repealed (in principle at least) the Act of free trade, granted to Ireland a few years before, and it advanced the doctrine of external legislation as distinct from internal, which Mr. Fox had been most unjustly accused of maintaining, though he had in his place denied it. The Bill was nearly as follows:—It asserted the sole and exclusive right of Great Britain to regulate her external commerce, and that of all kingdoms and countries under her sovereignty, but not for purposes of revenue; it stated that the kingdom of Ireland was under the sovereignty of Great Britain; that the western seas, in which Ireland was included, formed part of the maritime empire of the kings of England; that the Act of the 20th of the King, viz. to allow the trade between Ireland and the Colonies, &c. had taken the power out of the Parliament of

Great Britain, where it of right belonged, and of right ought to remain, in manifest violation and open breach of the constitution, and vested it in the Parliament of Ireland. It further enacted that this Act, as far as relates to the taking of this power out of the Parliament of Great Britain, and vesting it in the Parliament of Ireland, *was thereby repealed and rendered void;* and it stated that the meaning of the Act was to *assert, in the Parliament of Great Britain, the sole and exclusive power of external legislation!*

Such was this extraordinary Bill. It was not, however, permitted to lie upon the table; but it produced its mischievous effect, and excited such discontent in Ireland, that the secretary, Mr. Fitzpatrick, was obliged to address a letter to Mr. Hutchinson, Provost of Trinity College, which he thought necessary to transmit to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, in order to allay the feeling of general indignation.

MR. FITZPATRICK TO MR. HUTCHINSON.

Dublin Castle, July 22, 1780.

SIR,

Being informed, from many quarters, that the misrepresentations so generally circulated, relative to the supposed introduction of a Bill into the House of Lords in England, declaring the right of the British Parliament to bind Ireland, in matters of external legislation, have created much uneasiness in many parts of the kingdom, and particularly amongst your respectable constituents, I must entreat

your good offices in setting right a matter, the misconception of which may so materially injure the public service, by disturbing that harmony which is, I trust, fully and finally established between the kingdoms, the interruption of which cannot but be highly detrimental to the interests, happiness,and tranquillity of both. The report of the abovementioned Bill having been suffered to lie on the table of the House of Lords, is wholly without foundation. It is true that the Earl of Abingdon did intimate a wish that it might be permitted to lie upon the table; but, upon being informed that the proposition would be objected to, and there appearing no probability of his finding himself supported by any noble lord in the House, his Lordship declined making any motion upon the subject, and consequently there appears upon the minutes of that day's business no traces whatever of the transaction. I have reason to believe that these were the motives that induced his Lordship to waive his intention; but the facts of his having made no motion in the House, and the Bill not having been permitted to lie upon the table (as has been falsely represented) are unquestionable. I cannot but flatter myself that this matter, rightly understood, will cease to be an object of uneasiness to the public, naturally and most commendably jealous where they conceive their acknowledged rights exposed to danger; and I am confident that the anxiety of Ireland on this occasion may be more justly imputed to a laudable and zealous attachment to those rights than to any forward disposition of harbouring ill-grounded doubts of the honour and good faith of Britain.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RICHARD FITZPATRICK.

There were other circumstances, too, that extended the general conflagration, and increased the alarm, and they were eagerly laid hold of by those who sought to inflame the people.

It happened that at this time there was one case of appeal from Ireland remaining over in the Court of King's Bench in England, and two cases of appeal remaining for adjudication before the House of Lords. These, it was thought, could not be legally removed or sent back to Ireland, as they had been lying over in those courts before the Act of repeal had passed, and the delay and expense to the parties concerned in these legal proceedings would have been very considerable and highly inconvenient; further, as no more appeals would be sent from Ireland, inasmuch as the Irish law had settled the point, no principle of judicature was likely to be brought into dispute. They were accordingly decided in the English courts.

All these untoward proceedings, which at any other time would perhaps have been disregarded, were attended by singularly bad consequences. They filled the Irish mind with doubt; they awakened the most unfavourable suspicions as to the sincerity of England; and they were quickly seized upon by a few envious persons, who called upon the volunteers to seek for additional securities, and demand what they were pleased to call an express renunciation; which was, in truth, a

measure unworthy of one country to ask, and was certain not to be granted by the other.

The Lawyers' Corps took up the question. They drew fine, legal, and unintelligible distinctions, and appointed a committee of nine, "to inquire and report in the ensuing November, whether any acts have been done by the British Parliament, whereby it must be deemed to have fully, finally, and irrevocably acknowledged the sole and exclusive right of the Irish Parliament to legislate for this country in all cases, as well external as internal." A committee was elected accordingly.

Mr. Fox had no idea whatever of retaining external legislation; he gave it up *in toto*. No doubt he would have been glad to settle the legislative power as securely as possible; but if he had intended to preserve external legislation, as it was called, he would not have proposed the prospective resolution which both Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan knew was applied merely to commercial arrangements. The mere fact of his proposing such a resolution, showed that he had given up all idea of legislation; and he in consequence declared,* that his intention, when he proposed the repeal of the declaratory Act, "was to give *a full, complete, absolute, and perpetual surrender of the British legislature*, and judicial supremacy over Ireland." He added, that "since that time,

* See the debate on December 19th, 1782, in the English House.

an opinion had been propagated that *renunciation* was better than repeal; but if Great Britain proceeded by *renunciation, it would be offensive to Ireland;* for thereby England declared that she possessed the right; and if the renunciation stated that it was a right which England never legally had possessed—that was a matter which England never could be brought to agree to; so that the plan adopted was the best one."

The truth was, that the Irish grew alarmed at all these proceedings; the people, long habituated to bad laws and insidious ministers, saw cause for suspicion in every thing; they thought that everybody meant to rob them—that England intended treachery in every measure; and, astonished and dazzled by what they had got, they lost their wits, and began to doubt the value of their acquisitions. They had got much more than they had expected; they had got rid of the final judicature, and obtained a power to decide upon questions of property, instead of being subject to an English judicature, and to English judges, appointed by the Crown. Thus, by the excitement of this question, they vitally injured the cause of the opposition in Parliament, as well as that of their country; for they made people think that the entire proceeding was *merely a run for popularity:* and they did not remain satisfied until they got their liberties under an English law, and in fact preferred a British statute to an Irish

charter; for in the Act that the British Parliament passed the ensuing session, the right of the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted in that kingdom was declared to be *established and ascertained for ever*.

This, Mr. Grattan justly observed, was making Ireland free with a vengeance; and if this Act had been repealed, (which it might have been at any time), Ireland would have been left in a worse situation than before; because the repeal of the law which gave Ireland liberty, left every thing uncertain. The truth was, it was a mere play upon words. Mr. Flood said, the repeal of the declaratory Act did nothing. Suppose the previous question is put upon any motion in Parliament; the House expresses in that case no opinion upon the merits. But if a negative is put on a motion, the affirmative is then set up. Take, as an instance, the vote of censure proposed by Mr. Fox, on Lord Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty, in the time of Lord North. There the House, by its negative, set up the reverse of what Mr. Fox meant to propose. Repeal is abrogation; the right was here set forth in the Act, and the repeal of the Act abrogated the right.

In addition, therefore, to the other reasons on this point, a renunciation was the very thing that England would not consent to do; she never would have consented to declare that her ancestors were guilty of usurpation; she would not

stigmatise her lineage and her name; and if there was one measure more than another that ought not to have been proposed to Ireland, situated as Ireland had been, and circumstanced as she then was, it was this very one.

Besides this, the measure was not one isolated act; it must be considered as forming one great transaction. The proceedings adopted by Lord Charlemont and Mr. Grattan threw the entire into the form of a treaty; so that the country got national as well as legal security, and Parliament was put in covenant.

The resolutions of the lawyers' corps stated that "the acknowledgment and disclaimer of the right ought to be conceived in terms as strong and clear as the utmost range of language could supply, and that the disclaimer of the principle ought to rest upon a solid foundation of express acknowledgment;" and they contended, consequently, that the repeal of the Declaratory Act of the 6th George I. did nothing. The answer to that was a question which, if fairly replied to, would settle the point. Did that Act contain the principle?—if it did, and that the principle was repealed, the question was finally settled.

Now, in the first place, the act asserted the dependency of Ireland. Secondly, it denied her final judicature; it contained the principle of dependence, and this act was repealed altogether. Further it is to be observed, that the proceeding was remarkable, not only for what was done, but

for what was avoided;—for if the English Parliament had declared that Ireland had been formerly subject, and that now it be enacted that her independence should be granted, Ireland would then have taken her liberties under an English law; and this would not only not have done what Ireland wanted, but would have done the very reverse: so that the proceeding was correct in what it avoided doing, as well as in what it did.

The transaction was, in fact, a treaty between the two countries. First came the Resolutions of the Irish House of Commons, and the volunteers; next, a message from the King of England to both Houses of the British Parliament; next, the message of the King to both Houses of his Irish Parliament; next, the Declaration of Rights by the Irish Parliament; next, their address to the King, setting forth the rights and the claim of Ireland;—then all submitted to both Houses of Parliament in England. Next came the English Act, repealing the 6th of George I.; and afterwards several Irish Acts repealing Poyning's Law, and regulating the transmission of Bills to Great Britain, and securing the final judicature to Ireland.

Thus was formed a national contract, by which not only Parliament, but both countries were bound, and not merely by a statute of England or Ireland, which would have been obligatory only on the Parliament of either country, but by a solemn treaty. It was, however, difficult to persuade

the people of this; and if any stronger proof was required to show how ill that country had been administered, it was the extraordinary eccentricity of the public mind in Ireland, which, like a comet, started from its sphere, and brought in its wild train amazement as well as terror, and left behind it a track marked by singular appearances and lasting calamities. It is a useful lesson to politicians; and when legislators hereafter turn over the page of history, they will behold in the proceedings of these times a strong argument against misgovernment, and learn how great a calamity it is to have so lost the affections, and so forfeited the confidence of the people, that in the moment of the utmost bounty they feared the hand that fed them.

It was, however, difficult to persuade the people, puzzled as they were by lawyers, and perplexed by grave senators and the semblance of legal authorities. The logic of Mr. Flood—the Bill of Lord Abingdon—the pamphlets and proceedings of Lord Beauchamp — the including Ireland in a British Act—the appeals in the English House of Lords;—and last, and not least, the adjudication in an English court of law by Lord Mansfield:—all these subjects addressed to the pride of Ireland, debated and considered by men with arms in their hands, were of themselves almost sufficient to widen, instead of repairing, the breach between the two countries. Ireland had been so long used to

English statutes, that she did not know how to act as a nation; nor did the people perceive that the idea of giving legal security for Irish independence, was an absurdity in terms;—for a statute does not bind Parliament, although it binds the people;—whereas the law of nations and treaty binds both. So it was in the case of America. She was satisfied to proceed by treaty, and the binding acts of England were repealed of themselves; and Mr. Franklin wisely said, in one of his letters on the subject,—"England may now pass what laws she pleases; we do not any longer pay obedience to them; we have done with them altogether." He did not, like the lawyers' corps, require "terms as clear as the utmost range of language can supply." Treaties do not depend solely upon words. Among the men of England who were prepared to fight for the Great Charter in the time of John, many, perhaps, could neither read nor write; and the English Ministry well understood the Great Charter, and the laws of the Edwards, when they took away the liberties of Ireland. England was not worse off in the one case, nor was Ireland better off in the other. In truth, nations would have a very poor safeguard, if the security of their liberty depended upon the words of a dictionary; and the Revolution of 1688 was effected in England, although the parties differed widely upon the terms in which to express the conduct of James II. Some contended for the word "*forfeited*:" others for the word "*abdicated*;"

and others again for the word "*deserted.*" The parties were at a loss for the expression; but they all concurred in the sentiment: and the principle of that glorious Revolution survived the dispute about phraseology, and bade defiance alike to the censures of the critic, and the special pleadings of the lawyer.

About the year 1818, at the time Sir Jonah Barrington was writing his "History of the Union," or, as he calls it, "the Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation," he applied to Mr. Grattan upon the subject, and particularly in reference to the question of simple repeal. This at once revived the recollections of Mr. Grattan's younger days, and the political proceedings of that period; and he accordingly wrote to Sir Jonah Barrington the following letter. The arguments which he alludes to, and the speech of Mr. Flood, were published after his death, in one of the volumes of his Speeches.

MR. GRATTAN TO SIR JONAH BARRINGTON.

"*House of Commons, London, March* 2, 1818.

"My dear Barrington,

"I am excessively sorry that your health has been impaired, and I hope it will be soon restored.

"I will get you the Whig-club resolution. They proposed to obtain an internal reform of Parliament, in which they partly succeeded; they proposed to prevent an union, in which they failed.

"The address that declared no political question remained between the two countries, had in view to stop the growth of demand, and preserve entire the annexation of the Crown. It was to us an object to prevent any future political discussion touching the relative state of the two countries; because we might not be so strong as in that moment. And it was an object to us, and to the English minister, to guard against any discussion that might shake the connection to which we were equally attached. Fox wished sincerely for the liberty of Ireland without reserve. *He was an enemy to an union, and wished the freedom to be annexed to his name.*

"The Act of Repeal was a part of a treaty with England. A declaratory act of title is the affirmative of the existence of a former title; the repeal is a disaffirmance of any such former title; the more so when accompanied by a transfer of the possession, viz., the transfer of the final judicature, and the legislation for the colony trade of the new acquired islands, made in consequence of a protest by Ireland against the claim of England.

"The repeal was not any confession of usurpation; it was a disclaimer of any right. *You must suppose what I have said, unsaid.* A man of spirit may say that, but he will hesitate to unsay word by word. That was the case of England. She would not in so many words confess her usurpation; nor did she: on the contrary, when they pressed her, she exercised the power, and said,

'*The constitution of Ireland is established and ascertained** in future by the authority of the British Parliament.' It was proposed in the House of Commons to change the words, and say, recognized for ever. They agreed to the words '*for ever*,' and refused the word '*recognized*,' and kept in the word '*established*.' This I call making Ireland free with a vengeance.

"I wish in your history you would put down the argument on both sides. I can get you Flood's, published by his authority.

"I am excessively thankful for the many handsome things you have said of me.

"Yours most truly,

"HENRY GRATTAN."

This subject so much engaged Mr. Grattan's attention, even at this late period of his life, that he returned to it with almost all his wonted ardour, and consulted the great English authorities of the time, and submitted to them a statement of the question. Lord Erskine, Sir Arthur Piggott, and Sir Samuel Romilly communicated with him on the points formerly in dispute, and gave their opinion on the question of Simple Repeal—namely, that the course of proceeding adopted by Mr. Fox, Lord Charlemont, and Mr. Grattan, was the proper one, and decidedly the best for Ireland; and that

* The words in the Act of 1783; a most palpable blunder on the part of the diplomatists who concerted the measure.

it had fully settled the question between the two countries.

In this contest, as in others which at a later period Mr. Grattan had with his countrymen, it is strange that he was so completely in the right. Perhaps it may have been the effect of accident, not wisdom; but it is highly to his credit, that although emulative of popularity, and always connected with the popular party, yet he never would yield to the people, when he was convinced that they were mistaken.

The lawyers' corps had, as already mentioned, appointed a committee to report upon the subject; and as it was thought that their opinion might naturally have much weight in the country, (though in fact the corps did not consist exclusively of members of that profession, but was composed of persons belonging to a variety of others;) some individuals—among whom were Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Burgh, and Mr. Day—prepared a declaration* of their opinion on the subject, which was signed by the leading lawyers of that time. Mr. Chamberlaine and Mr. Smith supported, however, the resolutions of the lawyers'

* The author is indebted for this document to his kind and excellent friend Mr. Day: it is drawn up in his hand-writing, with the exception of the part by Judge Finucane. This worthy individual, the constant and attached friend of Mr. Grattan, whose name so often appears in this work, though now at the advanced age of 94, still retains all the impressions of a younger mind, and his early predilections in favour of his friend and his country.

corps; but they afterwards sat in Parliament, and proposed nothing by way of amendment. They were subsequently created judges, and declared that they were mistaken in their opinion on the question. The chief judges of the Courts coincided in the declaration; and Lord Camden, in a private conversation with Mr. Grattan, made use of the following expressions—"*It is folly talking of Simple Repeal—the business is done.*"

Mr. Kenyon (afterwards Lord Kenyon) and Mr. John Lee, who were Attorney and Solicitor-General in England in 1782, when the Bill passed, were consulted by Mr. Fox on the point; and both these great lawyers gave it as their opinion that the Simple Repeal terminated all British jurisdiction over Ireland.

Thus the Chief Justices of the three Courts—the two Judges, Chamberlaine and Smith—Judge Kelly—Yelverton—Crookshank—Wolfe—(afterwards Lord Kilwarden)—Duigenan—Finucane, and Day—together with the English authorities, Lord Camden—Lord Kenyon—Mr. Lee—Lord Erskine—Sir Arthur Piggott, and Sir Samuel Romilly—all agreed in opinion with Mr. Grattan, Lord Charlemont, and Mr. Fox.

DECLARATION ON SIMPLE REPEAL.

"Whereas the majority of the lawyers' corps have entered into and published certain resolutions, in which they have declared it as their opinion, 'That

the British Parliament have not done any act whatsoever, whereby they must or can be deemed to have fully, finally, and irrevocably, or in any adequate manner acknowledged the sole and exclusive right of the Irish Parliament to legislate for this country, in all cases, as well external as internal:' We, the underwritten barristers, apprehending that the opinion of a corps, many of which are barristers, may be considered by the public as the sense of the bar of this kingdom, think proper thus publicly to declare that we do not concur therein, and that we are of opinion that the independence of the Irish Legislature hath been sufficiently asserted by the Parliament of Ireland, and fully and adequately acknowledged by the Parliament of Great Britain.

THO. KELLY.

HAM. STEWART. BARRY YELVERTON.
WM. CALDBECK. JOHN M'MAHON.
PAT^K. DUIGENAN. ALEX. CROOKSHANK.
ROB. DAY. ARTHUR WOLFE.
CHAR. O'NEIL.

"In my opinion the claim of the British Parliament to legislate for Ireland has been fully done away by the repeal of the statute of the 6th of George I. in England."

"N.B. The above is the opinion and handwriting of MATTH^W. FINUCANE, R.D."

The following Extract from the Memoirs of Lord Charlemont, by his biographer,* Francis Hardy, may here be appropriately introduced, in explanation of the public feeling on the question that has just been canvassed :—

"The conduct of numbers of my countrymen,

* Francis Hardy was a most amiable, pleasing, and accomplished individual and firmly attached to liberty; he possessed the feelings of an Irishman, and the polished manners of the French; he was fond of foreign literature, and his mind and conversation were formed on the best models. He was abroad with Mr. Grattan, and went with him to pay their devotions at the shrine of the beautiful *Marie Antoinette.* As they ascended the steps of the Tuilleries, some of the party were struck by the splendour of the gardens and the palace.—"*Very fine,*" said Mr. Hardy, "*but they want the Trial by Jury.*" For many years he participated in Mr. Grattan's society, residing close to Tinnehinch, when he wrote the "Memoirs of Lord Charlemont," and in a manner so greatly to his credit. He sat in Parliament for a borough of Lord Granard's, and uniformly supported the rights and liberties of his country. His circumstances were very limited, but his heart never lost its *national* affections, and, *at the Union, when Lord Castlereagh made such offers as quite astonished him,* some of Mr. Hardy's *noble* acquaintance advised him to accept them; for, as they said, the die was cast, and the union was certain to pass. But though Hardy saw and felt the distresses of his family, yet *he preferred their honour and his own;* he spurned the offer, and *left his children an honest name* and exceeding poverty. In 1806, when the Whig party came into power, he got the place of commissioner of appeals; he enjoyed it but for a short time prior to his death; the salary was small, but it gratified, though it did not reward. He had succeeded a good and amiable man, Mr. Preston, who likewise often formed one of the circle at Tinnehinch. Preston was a poet, a politician, and a judge. It was said that he lost his life in consequence of a very long speech of Mr. Harry Dean Grady. The commissioner sat with wet feet during the lawyer's interminable harangue, who, having spoken, it was said, for almost a whole day, sat down, saying that *his legs were tired!* Poor Preston "caught a cold and died."—His friend Hardy succeeded him.

amiable and excellent as they generally are, was at this time utterly unjustifiable. A mere difference of opinion, on a point inconsequential, and even now almost forgotten, made them regard their best friends almost as monsters. All Grattan's services were thrown into oblivion. The favourite of the 16th of April, became in little more than two months,—indeed long before "their shoes were old," in following him with loud acclamations,—one of the most unpopular men in the kingdom. The man of firm temper may laugh at all this; but it cannot render solitude, or total absence from the political world, less supportable, to reflect that the persons who contributed most to this frenzy, were the very men who, for year after year, swelled every unpropitious vote against Ireland, and whose doors, barricadoed as if against the plague, could scarcely afford them security against the hatred, and almost legitimate fury of the people, who now applauded all that they said, and all that they did. Such are the extremes in a free state; extremes to which liberty is nearly allied."

On this subject, Lord Charlemont, in a letter to Mr. Hardy, feelingly expatiates:—

"These instances of ingratitude shock me not a little. That a man who has given up his whole life to the service of his country—nay, has immi-

nently hazarded that life by his activity in the cause,—whose endeavours have been crowned with success,—to whom principally we owe the blessing of liberty—that such a man should be maliciously defamed, and the scandal believed by many, is a baseness of ingratitude that surpasses all comprehension. *Happy it is, that virtue in herself is a blessing, and that a good conscience is the greatest of all pleasures;* as the contrary is a curse, and a punishment, more excruciating than any tyrant ever could invent. The former of these will, at all events, be my friend's reward; and the latter, if they be not callous, will well avenge him of all his enemies. For my own part, I have as yet been spared; but, let what will happen, nothing shall make me deviate from the path I have hitherto pursued. Detraction may possibly injure my reputation; though, even there I think I may defy it; but it never shall take from me *that first of all blessings, the consciousness that I am acting right,* and to the utmost of my abilities exerting myself in the service of my country. This may look like vanity; but a proper pride in some cases is a necessary and even a virtuous quality."

The same subject is pursued in another letter to Haliday, written some days after the preceding, and in both the moral and the philosophy are worthy to be admired.

"*Marino, August* 17, 1782.

"I have had a letter from our friend Harry,* dated Shrewsbury. He was then getting better, and writes in tolerable spirits. I am heartily glad that he is safe out of this pestilential atmosphere, and am certain that the change of air, and of scene, will do him more good even than the waters of Spa. To a delicate mind, popular ingratitude must be grating indeed. But what people were more apt to be ungrateful than the renowned Athenians? Why, then, should I not flatter myself, that, together with this bad quality of theirs, we may also have obtained some of their good ones—their spirit of freedom as well as their habit of discontent? If we have gotten their levity, may it not be a certain symptom that we are in full possession of their liberty also? You see that I am inclined to be in good humour with the world; a certain sign that tranquillity and the shades of Marino agree with me."

On the first of July, the death of the Marquess of Rockingham took place, an event most unfortunate for his party, and for the country. He was a man universally respected and greatly deplored; as amiable in private, as he was independent and spirited in public life; an accomplished man and a virtuous minister. Ireland owed him much,

* Henry Grattan; he had then set out on the journey to Spa.

sincerely regretted him. A new
ction was formed, partly out of the
f the preceding, and partly with new
ials. Lord Shelburne, who had remained
office, was at the head, as First Lord of the
Treasury; Lord Grantham and Mr. Thomas
Townshend came in as principal Secretaries of
State, and Mr. William Pitt, the second son of
the celebrated Earl of Chatham, succeeded Lord
John Cavendish as Chancellor of the Exchequer.
He had distinguished himself at this early period
of his life (scarcely 23) by his motion in favour of
reform, which he had made on the 7th of May, when
he proposed an inquiry into the state of the repre-
sentation of the people in Parliament, which was
rejected by 161 to 141.* This was the ladder to

* When speaking of this great character, it is impossible to pass over the singular and almost startling consideration, that of the two greatest questions of the age—the Reform in Parliament, and the Slave-trade—neither was carried by Mr. Pitt, although he had been minister for upwards of twenty years—although he created numbers of members in one house—although he commanded still greater numbers in the other house—and although his sway *was almost that of a sovereign*, owing to the illness of George III. Having got into power on the question of reform, he forgot the principle; and professing to be humane, he forgot humanity. It was not till the period of Mr. Fox's administration, in 1806, that the *divine charter* was passed, abolishing slavery; neither was it till 1832 that the question of Reform in Parliament was carried, when Lord John Russell proved that he was *true to his lineage*.

It is remarkable that in Mr. Wilberforce's life (he, too, was one of the chief patrons of the abolition,) it is stated that Mr. Pitt instanced the large division in the House of Commons in favour of the measure, as one of the fruits of the Union with Ireland, (what a censure on his own country!)

his vaulting ambition; by this he acquired instant and great popularity; by this he climbed to power and eminence; but having ascended, he spurned the means by which he rose, and never again re-assumed them.

The Irish Parliament was prorogued on the 27th of July, when the Duke of Portland stated in his speech, that "to settle the Constitution of Ireland on a secure foundation, and to unite its interest and affection with those of Great Britain, was the principal object of his administration; and he was happy to learn that Parliament considered these objects as accomplished." Shortly afterwards, Lord Temple went over as Lord Lieutenant, with Mr. William Wyndham Grenville (Lord Grenville) as Secretary. Mr. Grattan's health had suffered considerably from his close attendance on Parliament; during the session he had been extremely ill, and at the close he did not feel restored, either in body or mind; and the singular turn which affairs had now taken had considerably affected him — at one moment the idol of the people — in the next, the object of their distrust! But in all ages, and in all climes, it is the

the majority of the Irish members having supported the principle of abolition. Such too was the case on the Reform in 1832: the majority of the Irish carried the question, against the English and Scotch majorities. So just was the remark, "that in the breast of the people of Ireland the spirit of liberty will ever live."

It is to be hoped that England will not prove insensible to the services rendered her by the sister country.

same—the same with princes—the same with the people:

verso pollice vulgi
Quemlibet occidunt populariter.

Mr. Grattan was recommended by his physicians to try change of scene and air; and accordingly he set out for Spa, to try the salubrious waters of that interesting and romantic country. He remained abroad for two months, and on his return through London, called on his old friend the Speaker, who was absent from town, and with whom subsequently the following correspondence took place, upon the affairs of Ireland,—

MR. PERY* TO MR. GRATTAN.

London, Oct. 2, 1782.

DEAR GRATTAN,

I shall take the first opportunity in my power of communicating your ideas to such persons as I think able and willing to make a proper use of them; which, let me tell you, in the present state of parties, requires some penetration to find out. If I can believe those I converse with, things were never more unsettled than they are at present. Some of the ministry here are at open enmity with each other, and every body seems to distrust the head. The opposition is not only able, but strong in numbers, and will certainly be joined, unless some new arrangement takes place, by some now in office. The present minister, if he remains in office till the meeting of Parliament, with the forces immediately dependent upon Government, will out-number them; but the connexions of Lord North are so extensive, and the opinion of his integrity such, that he can undoubt-

* Afterwards Lord Pery.

edly give a decided majority on either side. Of this the minister is so well satisfied, that he takes every occasion of commending Lord North, as he did lately of condemning him. I am well informed that he made an offer to Lord North, of giving up his place to him, and of acting under him, which the latter declined.

Lord North will certainly oppose all innovations on the constitution, whether supported by the minister or not. It is likewise said, and I think it probable, that he will support the general measures of Government, but that when a fair opportunity offers of exposing the weakness of the minister, he will do it. This is the present appearance of things; but a few days may entirely change the scene. I am told *Lord Beauchamp intends moving something for the satisfaction of Ireland.* He called upon me last week, but I was from home; and he is gone out of town. The fencible regiments seem to be disliked here, as much as in Ireland; and it is generally believed they will be given up. Whose measure that was I know not; I never heard of it till I saw it in the papers. I have reason to believe that the first information the present Lord Lieutenant had of it, he received by accident, upon the road to Ireland. Pray has his Excellency as yet formed any connexion, and with whom?

Every hour produces some new lie relative to Gibraltar, but nothing can be depended upon, except that it has been in part relieved by Lord Howe, and that five large ships of the enemy were disabled by the storm; but even of this no official account has been received.

Ever yours,

E. PERY.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. PERY.

London, Oct. 10th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

I called on you before I left London, and wished to have spoken to you a few words, with regard to Ireland.

Should Lord Abingdon introduce his Bill, or attempt it, might it not be wise in the ministry to reject it with the following resolution:—

"That the Bill was rejected, because the sole and exclusive right of the Parliament of Ireland to make law for Ireland, in all cases, had been, by the repeal of the 6th of George I., fully, finally, and unequivocally acknowledged, in order to come to a final adjustment with the Irish nation, and to put an end to all constitutional questions that might interrupt the harmony of both nations."—This resolution would have a very good effect; and even though Lord Abingdon did not propose his Bill, I submit whether something of this sort ought not to be moved, for the following reasons:—it would assert the sincerity of England, rebuke the suspicions to the contrary, assist the recruiting for the navy, and co-operate with the Irish Parliament,—which has, by asserting the sufficiency of what has been done, endeavoured to put a stop to the growth of requisition. Some conversation too in the Parliament of England, on the Irish subject, would, I should imagine, have a very good effect; and above all, in framing English Bills, it is of the last moment to avoid general terms that may seem to include Ireland.

I was obliged to leave town sooner than I wished, or should have taken an opportunity of mentioning to some of the ministry, what I now mention to you, not as any thing

we have a right to ask, nor as any thing necessary to our liberty, or satisfaction, but as a good explanatory measure to refute and silence faction. I shall not make any apology for this, but assure you that I am,

With the greatest respect and regard,

Yours most sincerely,

HENRY GRATTAN.

MR. PERY TO MR. GRATTAN.

London, 17th Oct., 1782.

DEAR GRATTAN,

Upon my return to town, I found your letter of the 10th instant, and was much mortified at having missed you; but my daughters inform me, that your looks are much improved, and that Spa has been of service to you. The measure you mention, I think would be a wise one, and probably prevent future inconveniences. I shall not fail to recommend it, when I see any prospect of success; but at present, the state of the administration is so fluctuating, that I believe those who compose it think of little but their own preservation. When any thing happens on this side of the water which I think will interest you, you shall hear from me, and I request the like from you.

Believe me to be, most affectionately,

EDMUND PERY.

MR. GRATTAN TO MR. PERY.

October 20, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

I take the liberty to write again on the subject of Ireland. I could collect from Lord Charlemont, who had been North and South, that discontent had not in any shape

reached the bulk of the country, and that the idea of renunciation was entirely given up. I should therefore imagine, that some principal men in Great Britain, by conversation in Parliament, might considerably serve both this country and the Government. I could expect the greatest effect from a conversation to this purpose: that the parliament of England, by the repeal of George I., had acknowledged the independency or the Irish Parliament,—an independency, under the authority of Great Britain,—while it effectually put an end to the claims of the latter, over the privileges of the former;—that Ireland now, in point of constitution, had nothing to ask of England, nor England to give;—that therefore, from the nature of things, there was an end to the question, the more so, because the late settlement was a contract—*on the part of England, acknowledgement of the right of Ireland—on the part of Ireland, satisfaction*;—that the question thus settled, is not now to be disturbed; and that the distinction by some advanced in Ireland, that England would evade the force of the repeal, could not be attended to, being without any foundation in the nature of the transaction, or in the character of the English.

I am sure this would do great justice to the sincerity of those who transacted the late settlement; and Government are, in my mind, not a little interested in maintaining the sufficiency of the settlement itself, and the character of those whose credit would give strength and authority to their support of administration. *You know, Sir, what weight conversations in the British Parliament are felt to have in Ireland,* AND HOW EASY IT IS FOR THE BRITISH MINISTER TO MAKE A FACTION HERE ASHAMED OF ITSELF,—at least to make others so.

Lord Abingdon proves what mischief,—a ministry now may prove what good,—may arise from speeches in Par-

liament; and as we in Ireland have asserted the sincerity of the British Parliament, it is but natural that they should do so themselves. One would not forget to refute that charge of making a reserve of external, as distinct from internal, legislation.

These ideas I have taken the liberty of submitting to you, who will have it in your power, as you always have it in your wish, to suggest many things very beneficial to the repose (for nothing can add to the liberty) of our country. Nothing more beneficial occurs to me than what I have now stated. I have in this a personal, as well as a public interest; and where both unite, am not ashamed of the former. *A great transaction has been impeached on two grounds,*—the insincerity of the British ministry, and the insufficiency of the Irish negociators. We have defended both. Let the Ministry do so likewise. They should see that they have a common interest in our cause and our characters.

When I mentioned that discontent had not infected the body of the people, I intended to say, with respect to the late settlement; for, with respect to the fencibles, there is a very general clamour, and violent authoritative resolutions.

I shall, if any thing happens worthy your attention, acquaint you with it; and am, dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,

HENRY GRATTAN.

These letters show the desire on the part of Mr. Grattan to satisfy all parties, and to guard against the legal quibble which had been started, and which merely served to excite dissatisfaction, and could not procure any farther security for

the liberties of the country. The great national object had been fully accomplished; but the alarms and fancies of sanguine and disappointed politicians required to be listened to, and claimed some portion of indulgence. Accordingly, in the ensuing Session of the British Parliament, the new Ministry introduced a measure, not, in fact, to give strength or validity to the transactions between the two kingdoms, but to compose the public mind, and allay the fears that had been raised in Ireland; though these latter were in reality founded on nothing more than mere technical distinctions, and a play upon words, as fanciful as fastidious. The Act, called a Renunciation, was in consequence passed in the ensuing year, but which, in Mr. Yelverton's opinion, left Ireland worse than before. The account of this will appear hereafter.

This first portion of the Life and Correspondence of Henry Grattan must here conclude; nor can it terminate at a better period than that of 1782 — the brightest passage in Irish history, and the commencement of the reign of Irish independence. Fortunate, indeed, would it have been for both kingdoms, if Ireland had been allowed to proceed onward in her undisturbed career, cultivating the blessings of harmony and peace. This was the wise advice that Mr. Yelverton and Mr. Grattan gave to their countrymen. But, as in the best medicines

there is often a mixture of dangerous ingredients, so it proved to have been in this instance. Beginning with Simple Repeal, the people proceeded to the Rotunda Convention; and a train of evils followed, that produced disastrous consequences. All that Ireland now wanted was repose. She had made great and unexpected acquisitions, both in trade and liberty, externally as well as internally. She had made a prodigious advance: she had acquired, in place of her ancient riot, *order*—she had imposed on her religious discord, *silence*. She had invoked the spirit of concord; she had preferred her claim of right with modesty; she had supported it with moderation; she had obtained it. She rose at once in the scale of nations, in a manner that baffled all foresight, and astonished all calculation. The predictions of her enemies were falsified. She brought forth the fruit of national union, with a rapidity almost perceptible to the eye—instantaneous and beneficial. Industry, trade, manufactures, commerce, began to be developed; her vast resources expanded, her revenues augmented, her exports and imports increased, her lands were cultivated, and her mixed population—Protestant and Catholic—now overspread them. The National Bank was established, and new sources of industry and wealth at length appeared. It was well observed, Ireland came forth *as Minerva from the head of Jupiter—armed and full of wisdom.*

Such were the rewards of national concord — such the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

And this fine workmanship, this national redemption, was executed without a single national model. Ireland had no great charters thirty times confirmed, as in England; she had no baronial halls; no ancient abbeys adorned with the images of a noble race, where the contemplation of their inanimate figures might rouse the drooping spirit, and brighten the glistening eye, and teach to the rising age the love of glory and honour. She possessed no "*bold yeomanry, a nation's pride;*" she could boast of no titled aristocracy, standing between the surge of democracy and the silent march of arbitrary power; the temple of her constitution, so often violated, was not adorned by the tapestried* renown of free and unconquered ancestors. None of these fell to her lot. The victories in Ireland were always over her liberties.—But yet she possessed a brave and a fine people; a kind and a generous gentry. Penalties could not corrupt, persecution could not depress, tyranny could not degrade. She trusted in her God that he would deliver her; she trusted in her sons that they would uphold her. Her

* The burning of the House of Lords destroyed this memento of British victory, the noblest of Lord Chatham's impassioned appeals.

wrongs and her sufferings—patience, virtue, and justice—these were the powers that fought on her side—these were the weapons with which she armed her youth;—and, like the shepherd in holy writ, her son went forth, and overcame Goliath.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

CHARACTER OF MR. GRATTAN.

Among the illustrious persons referred to in the exordium of the following speech,* as having, on former occasions, brought the state of Ireland before the House of Commons, Mr. Grattan stands the foremost,—whether we regard the history of his political life, and the great services which he rendered his native country, or consider only the very inferior subject of his rank as an orator. He it was, who chiefly, after the Union, supported the Catholic Question. When he entered the Imperial Parliament, he bore a prominent part in all the discussions of it, and of subjects connected with it, in which the House he belonged to had been engaged, up to the period of his death in 1820.

It would not be easy to point out any statesman or patriot, in any age of the world, whose fame stands higher for his public services; nor is it possible to name any one, the purity of whose reputation has been stained by so few faults, and the lustre of whose renown is dimmed by so few imperfections. From the earliest years at which he could appear upon the political stage, he devoted himself to state affairs. While yet in the prime of youth, he had achieved a victory which stands at the head of the triumphs ever won by a patriot for his country in modern times; he had effected an important revolution in the Government, without violence of any kind; and had broken chains of

* Speeches published by Lord Brougham.

the most degrading kind, by which the usurpation and injustice of three centuries had bound her down. Her immediate gratitude placed him in a situation of independence, which enabled him to consecrate the remainder of his days to her service, without the interruption of professional pursuits; and he continued to persevere in the same course of patriotism, marked by a rare union of the moderation which springs from a combined wisdom and virtue, with the firmness and zeal which are peculiar to genius. No factious partisan, making devotion to the public cause a convenient and safe mask for the attainment of his selfish interests, whether of sordid avarice, or crawling ambition, ever found in Grattan either an instrument or an accomplice. No true friend of the people, inspired with a generous desire of extirpating abuses, and of extending the reign of freedom, ever complained of Grattan's slowness to join the untarnished banner of patriotism. No advocate of human improvement, filled with the sacred zeal of enlarging the enjoyments, or elevating the condition of mankind, was ever damped in his aspirations by Grattan's coldness, or had reason to wish him less the advocate of Ireland, and more the friend of his species.

The principal battle which he fought for his native country, required him to embrace every great and difficult question of domestic policy: for the misrule and oppression exercised by England over the Irish people, extended to all their commercial dealings, as well as to their political rights, and sought to fetter their trade by a complicated system of vexatious regulations, as well as to awe their legislators by an assumption of sovereignty, and to impose the fetters of a foreign jurisdiction upon the administration of justice itself. In no part of this vast and various field, were Mr. Grattan's powers found to fail, or his acquirements found deficient; and he handled the details of fiscal and mercantile policy, with as much accuracy and as great address, as he brought to the discussion of the broader and easier—though more momentous question—the great question of National Independence. He was left, on the achievement of this great triumph, in the possession of as brilliant a reputation as man could desire; and it was unsullied by any one act, either of factious violence, or of personal meanness, or of the inconsistency into which overmuch vehemence in the pursuit of praise-

worthy objects is wont to betray even the most virtuous of men. The popular favour, which he enjoyed to so unexampled a degree, and in such unmeasured profusion, was in a short time destined to suffer an interruption, not unusual in the history of popular leaders; and for refusing to join in the designs of a more than doubtful origin, of men inferior in reputation of every kind, and of a more than doubtful honesty—men, who prescribed, as unworthy of the people's esteem, all that acknowledged any restraints of moderation—he lived to see himself denounced by the factious, reviled by the unprincipled, and abandoned by their dupes, the bulk of the very nation whose very idol he had but lately been.

The war with France, and the fear of revolutionary movements at home, rendered him for some years an alarmist; and he joined with those who supported the hostilities into which Mr. Pitt, and the Portland seceders from the Whig party, unhappily plunged the empire. But he carried his support of arbitrary measures at home a very short way, compared with the new allies of the Government in England; and the proceedings of the Irish Ministry, during and after the Rebellion, found in him an adversary as uncompromising, as in the days of his most strenuous patriotism, and most dazzling popularity. Despairing of success, by any efforts of the party in Parliament, he joined in the measure of secession adopted by the English Whigs, but after a manner far more reconcileable to a sense of public duty, as well as far more effective in itself, than the absurd and inconsistent course which they pursued, of retaining the office of Representatives, while they refused to perform any of its duties, except the enjoyment of its personal privileges. Mr. Grattan, and the leaders of the Irish Opposition, vacated their seats at once, and left their constituents to choose other delegates. When the Union was propounded, they again returned to their posts, and offered a resistance to that measure, which at first proved successful, and deferred for a year the accomplishment of a measure planned in true wisdom, though executed by the most corrupt and corrupting means; a measure as necessary for the well-being of Ireland, as for the security of the empire at large. He entered the Imperial Parliament in 1805, and continued, with the exception of the question upon the renewal of the war in

1815, a constant and most powerful coadjutor of the Whig party; refusing office, when they came into power, on Mr. Pitt's death; but lending them a strenuous support upon all great questions, whether of English policy, or of Irish, and showing himself most conspicuously above the mean and narrow spirit that would confine a statesman's exertion to the questions which interest one portion of the empire, or with which his own fame in modern times has been more peculiarly entwined.

Among the orators, as among the statesmen of his age, Mr. Grattan occupies a foremost rank: and it was the age of the Pitts, the Foxes, and the Sheridans. His eloquence was of a very high order, all but of the very highest; and it was eminently original. In the constant stream of a diction replete with epigram and point—a stream upon which floated gracefully, because naturally, flowers of various hues—was poured forth the closest reasoning, the most luminous statement, the most persuasive display of all the motives that could influence, and of all the details that could enlighten his audience. Often a different strain was heard, and it was declamatory and vehement—or pity was to be moved, and its pathos was touching, as it was simple—or, above all, an adversary sunk in baseness, or covered with crimes, was to be punished or destroyed, and a storm of the most terrible invective raged, with all the blights of sarcasm, and the thunders of abuse. The critic, led away for the moment, and unable to do more than feel with the audience, could, in these cases, when he came to reflect and to judge, find nothing to reprehend; seldom in any case more than the excess of epigram, which had yet become so natural to the orator, that his argument and his narrative, and even his sagacious unfolding of principles, seemed spontaneously to clothe themselves in the most pointed terseness, and most apt and felicitous antitheses. From the faults of his country's eloquence, he was, generally speaking, free. Occasionally an over-fondness for vehemence of expression, an exaggeration of passion, or an offensive appeal to Heaven, might be noted; very rarely, a loaded use of figures, and, more rarely still, of figures broken and mixed. But the perpetual striving after far-fetched quaintness; the disdaining to say any one thing in an easy and natural style; the contempt of that rule, as true in rhetoric as in conduct, that it is wise to

do common things in the common way; the affectation of excessive feeling upon all things, without regard to their relative importance; the making any occasion, even the most fitted to rouse genuine and natural feeling, a mere matter of theatrical display—all these failings, by which so many oratorical reputations have been blighted among a people famous for their almost universal oratorical genius, were looked for in vain when Mr. Grattan rose, whether in the senate of his native country, or in that to which he was transferred by the Union. And, if he had some peculiarity of outward appearance,—as a low and awkward person, in which he resembled the first of orators, and even of manner, in which he had not, like him, made the defects of nature yield to severe culture,—so had he one excellence of the very highest order, in which he may be truly said to have left all the orators of modern times behind—the severe abstinence which rests satisfied with striking the decisive blow in a word or two, not weakening its effects by repetition and expansion; and another excellence, higher still, in which no orator of his age is his equal;—the easy and copious flow of most profound, sagacious, and liberal principles, enumerated in terse and striking, but appropriate language. To give a sample of this latter peculiarity would be less easy, and would occupy more space, but of the former, it may be truly said that Dante himself never conjured up a striking, a pathetic, and an appropriate image in fewer words than Mr. Grattan employed to describe his relation towards Irish independence, when, alluding to its rise in 1782, and its fall twenty years later, he said, "I sat by its cradle—I followed its hearse."

In private life he was without a stain, whether of temper, or of principle: singularly amiable, as well as of umblemished purity in all the relations of family and of society; of manners as full of generosity, as they were free from affectation; of conversation as much seasoned with spirit, and impregnated with knowledge, as it was void of all harshness and gall. Whoever heard him in private society, and marked the calm tone of his judicious counsel, the profound wisdom of his sagacious observations, the unceasing felicity of his expressions, the constant variety and brilliancy of his illustrations, could well suppose that he had conversed with the orator whose wit and whose wisdom enlight-

ened and guided the senate of his country: but in the playful hilarity of the companion, his unbroken serenity, his unruffled good nature, it would, indeed, have been a difficult thing to recognize the giant of debate, whose awful energies had been hurled, nor yet exhausted, upon the Corrys, the Duigenans, and the Floods.

The signal failure of the latter, when transplanted to the English Parliament, suggests a reference to the same passage in the life of Mr. Grattan. Men were variously inclined to conjecture upon his probable success; and the singularity of his external appearance, and his manner of speaking, as well as his action, so unusual in the English Parliament, made the event doubtful for some time during his speech of 1805. Nor were there wanting those surrounding Mr. Pitt, who foretold "that it would not do." That great debater and experienced judge is said for some moments to have partaken of the doubts,—when the hasty execution of some passage, not perhaps marked by the audience at large, at once dispelled them; and he pronounced to his neighbours an authoritative and decisive sentence, which the unanimous voice of the House and of the country forthwith affirmed.

This illustrious patriot died a few days after his arrival in London, at the beginning of June, 1820, having come with the greatest difficulty, and in a dying state, to attend his Parliament duties. A request was made to his family that his remains might be buried in Westminster Abbey, instead of being conveyed for interment to Ireland: and this having been complied with, the obsequies were attended by all the more distinguished Members of both Houses of Parliament. The letter containing the request, was signed by the leaders of the liberal party. The beauty of its chaste composition was much and justly admired at the time; but little wonder was excited by it, when the author came to be known. It proceeded from the pen of one of the greatest poets whom this country has produced, as well as one of its finest prose writers: who, to this unstable fame, adds the more imperishable renown of being also one of the most liberal of men, and most uncompromising friends of civil and religious liberty, who have appeared in any age. The rare felicity of our times, in possessing two individuals to whom this description

might be applied—Rogers and Campbell—alone makes it necessary to add, that the former is here meant.

" Filled with veneration for the character of your father, we venture to express a wish common to us, with many of those who most admired and loved him, that what remains of him should be allowed to continue among us.

" It has pleased Divine Providence to deprive the empire of his services, while he was here in the neighbourhood of that sacred edifice, where great men from all parts of the British dominions have been for ages interred. We are desirous of an opportunity of joining in the due honour to tried virtue and genius. Mr. Grattan belongs to us also; and great would be our consolation were we permitted to follow him to the grave, and to place him where he would not have been unwilling to lie—by the side of his illustrious fellow-labourers in the cause of freedom."

Extract from Vol. IV. p. 28, Brougham's Speech on the Administration of the Laws in Ireland.

" The late Mr. Grattan was certainly a party man. In the highest, truest, and most honourable sense, he performed what he justly considered the important duties of party: but of all Members on the Opposition side of the House, his authority is the most unexceptionable: because he undeviatingly observed the strictest accuracy in his details, and was little liable to the imputation of being carried away by enthusiasm. He was a man of singular candour and great moderation, and from his entrance into public life, to the close of his illustrious career, gave signal proofs of his moderation, of his extreme forbearance, nay, of his gentleness and his calmness, even in the tempests of factious times. He observed, on one occasion, " that the Government trifled with the Northern weaver, when it sent him to a grand jury:" and he added, that " the supineness and partiality of the magistracy had been the occasion of his sufferings and his losses.'

II.

ADDITIONAL OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE RELATIVE TO THE AFFAIRS OF IRELAND, FROM JUNE 1779, TO DECEMBER 1780.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, 8th June, 1779.

My Lord,

I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 1st instant, inclosing a copy of an address to His Majesty from the House of Commons, and His Majesty may be assured that the matter therein contained, shall be the immediate object of my closest attention.

Your Lordship has already been acquainted that the Commissioners of the Revenue require some time for the drawing up the papers expected from them upon this important occasion.

My application to all the principal servants of the crown for their respective sentiments has also been mentioned; but those sentiments will be delayed, and when given, stated very cautiously, except by the gentlemen who will probably recommend universal indulgence to the commerce of Ireland.

Upon the whole, my private opinion is, that nothing short of permission to export coarse woollen goods, will in any degree, give general satisfaction. To this, however, it is necessary for me to add, that no encouragement to expectations of that tendency has been held out by me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Buckingham.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, 25th June, 1779.

My Lord,

I have mentioned to your Lordship at different times the applications which had been made to me for arms for the use of the self-created troops and companies in this kingdom, and my determination not to comply with such applications. Some of the most respectable noblemen of this kingdom, who are governors of counties, have since represented to me, that in case of an invasion, it would not be in the power of gentlemen in the country to defend themselves, the people in general having no arms, and that they must consequently be at the mercy of any banditti who might choose to pillage, and have therefore requested that they may be supplied with arms from His Majesty's stores, to be deposited in barracks, and not to be delivered out but by the express order of the governors of counties. I must inform your Lordship that there are at this time in His Majesty's stores of Dublin, above five thousand new arms, and a further quantity is in hand, the whole of which will be wanted for the regular troops; but there are also about 20,000 militia arms in perfect order. Had a militia been arrayed, a number of these arms, equal to that of the militia, would of course have been issued, and put under the direction of the governors of counties. I apprehend, as there has not been any array, it is not perfectly regular to place these arms in other hands; yet upon such an emergency as at present threatens, I submit, whether it might not be justifiable and proper to lodge a number of them under the commanding officers in some of the principal towns in the southern parts of Ireland, in order, that if there should be immediate occasion for them, they might be there ready to be delivered without delay.

As this is a case of great delicacy and very different in its circumstances from the other applications for arms, and as upon my compliance with any of the applications in question, I must expect they will become general from every county in Ireland, I would not determine positively upon the matter, until

such time as I should have an opportunity of stating it to your Lordship, and receiving directions for my conduct therein.

I have the honour to be, &c,

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD WEYMOUTH.

Dublin Castle, 30th June, 1779.

MY LORD,

I have the honour of inclosing herewith to your Lordship, a memorial which has been laid before me by Sir Lucius O'Brien, Bart., Knight of the Shire for the county of Clare, in the name and behalf of His Majesty's loyal subjects of that county, requesting that the militia of that county may be arrayed, and that they may be supplied with militia arms, accoutrements, and ammunition; and representing, that lest the distress of the treasury at this time may be any obstruction to a measure which appears to them so highly useful, he presumes to assure me on their behalf, that they will cheerfully defray every other expense which may be necessary on this account, between this time and the next session of Parliament.

At the same time that Sir Lucius delivered this memorial to me, he informed me, that he believed this application would be followed by many similar ones from other counties, who would offer their services upon the same terms.

I shall only observe upon this proposal, that if it should be accepted, it would lead to a general array of the militia throughout the whole kingdom, which would unavoidably bring on an expense His Majesty's revenue is at this time unable to support, and that by the present subsisting Militia Act, I apprehend it would take several months before the necessary proceedings could take place for establishing a militia.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

SIR LUCIUS O'BRIEN, TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

Dublin, 27th June, 1779.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

His Majesty's loyal subjects of the county of Clare, alarmed at the general danger of the British empire, and desirous of testifying by their actions, their zeal for His Majesty's government and the public service, humbly request your Excellency may be pleased to call out the militia of their county.

And lest the distress of the Treasury at this time may be any obstruction to a measure which appears to them so highly useful, if your Excellency will be pleased to appoint their officers, and to order for them militia arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, I presume, on their behalf, to assure your Excellency, that they will cheerfully defray every other expense which may be necessary on this occasion, between this time and the next session of Parliament.

I have the honour to be, &c.

LUCIUS O'BRIEN.

SIR RICHARD HERON TO SIR STANIER PORTEN.

Dublin Castle, Oct. 25, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

The extreme hurry I have been in for some time, has left me long your debtor, for several letters, you have been so kind as to write to me, and, indeed, our business has gone on so very disagreeably, that I could have no satisfaction in communicating it to you.

The general distress of this country, as well that of the public, as of individuals, rendered it absolutely necessary in the opinion of those my Lord Lieutenant consulted, to go as far as possible in framing the Address to his Majesty. By the manner in which it was received, it appears that the expectations of this country are upon the subject of commerce; so that no person would venture to state what concessions might be satisfactory to Ireland, short of a free trade, as they call it; for, in truth, the terms have no express meaning. My Lord Lieutenant, therefore, has not found it in his power to state officially to Lord Weymouth, any thing upon this subject, since transmitting the opinion he had collected upon it. There has, however, been put into

his hands, by the Speaker, a paper, of which the enclosed is a copy, and which his Excellency has directed me to transmit to you, for the information of Lord Weymouth. Repealing the restrictions mentioned in this paper, would give Ireland the export of its woollens, and the export and import to and from the British plantations. And from what can be learnt of the opinions of those who are of most weight here upon such subjects, there is but little doubt, if these acts were repealed, Ireland would be satisfied, and that the affections of this country would be secured to Great Britain. How far the immediate import of all articles from the plantations would be prejudicial to Great Britain, is for consideration there; but when I was in London, the West India merchants seemed to have no objections to the direct import of sugars from the West Indies to Ireland; and with respect to woollens, it is certain that they have been constantly exported from hence, and will be again exported, whenever there shall be a peace, it being impossible for the officers of the revenue to prevent it. This being a fact, there seems little doubt that their woollens, being legally exported, cannot be more prejudicial, to say the least of it, to Great Britain, than the illicit practice of smuggling them out.

At the same time, the jealousy of the people of England, with respect to their woollens, and the heavy taxes it is necessary to impose upon them, may make it difficult for Government to carry the measure, unless the resolutions of the people of this country, to wear their own manufactures, should be found more prejudicial to the woollen trade of Great Britain, than the exportation contended for by Ireland.

I am, &c.

RICHARD HERON.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, Oct. 25, 1779.

MY LORD,

I have the honour of enclosing herewith, for your Lordship's consideration, a paper stating the very lowest sum necessary for defraying the arrears, which will become due at Christmas next, and the estimated deficiency up to Lady-day, 1781, with

a plan for raising this sum, together with a state of the taxes which it is thought advisable to propose, in addition to the present loan funds. This sum will, it is apprehended, leave a great arrear at Lady-day, 1781, as will appear from the states left with your Lordship, by Sir Richard Heron.

I did intend to have placed some additional taxes for increasing the revenues at large, which are so inadequate to the establishments and expenses of Government, but find that measure would be impracticable in the present state of the kingdom; and if Great Britain shall gratify Ireland in the extension of her commerce, perhaps that measure must be accompanied with duties upon the new articles of commerce to this kingdom, which may be applied towards supporting his Majesty's establishments.

I have some reason to believe the lottery will be filled here by private subscription; but if your Lordship had not been so considerate as to comply with my representations, that Ireland might raise by lottery a part of the large sum wanted, it would have been absolutely impossible, however ready the Parliament might be to grant the sum, to have procured it at any rate of interest; the general impression of the poverty of this kingdom, and its being threatened with an invasion from France, deterring all persons from negociating with us for the loan of money.

With respect to the taxes mentioned in this paper, which were submitted to your Lordship, by Sir Richard Heron, when in England, except the increased duties upon wines and tobacco, their produce will not, with the subsisting loan duties in their present fallen state, be so ample as could be wished, for payment of the annuities, and the whole interest of what will, with this new sum, be the debt of Ireland.

It has, therefore, been proposed here, to lay a duty of 1*d.* per pound on hops, if the Parliament of Great Britain could be prevailed upon to continue the drawback, given by the 9th of Anne, c. 12, of the excise of 1*d.* per pound on all hops exported to Ireland, which drawback, by the 6th Geo. I., c. 11, was repealed for the express purpose of raising a revenue to Great Britain, upon the consumption of Ireland, which is complained

of here, as Ireland is compelled to use no hops but of the growth of Great Britain.

This duty, it is computed, would produce about 6,300*l.* a-year. It is also hoped that the Parliament of Great Britain will give to this kingdom the produce of its own posts, which, upon the supposition the privilege of franking shall be abolished, will amount to about 20,000*l.* a-year. These sums would be ample for the loan duties.

At the same time that I mention new taxes to your Lordship, I must repeat the apprehensions I expressed in my official letter to Lord Weymouth of the 18th inst., that if in the present disposition of the House of Commons and of the nation, the giving to Ireland an essential extension of her trade and commerce, should be found inconsistent with the interests of Great Britain, the Parliament here will not grant any new duties, but will attempt to appropriate a part of the old additional duties, now belonging to his Majesty's revenues at large, to the loan fund, and will be disposed to proceed to very strong measures for the reduction of the establishments. For as the present establishments, and expenses of Government, so greatly exceed the revenues applicable to them, many people will, in the very distressed state of the kingdom, endeavour to equalize them by reduction. This cannot be effected, without going upon the military establishment; a measure, in the present state of this kingdom, in the highest degree exceptionable.

As it is most probable that a tax upon absentees may be proposed, when the subject of taxes is mentioned in the House of Commons, I wish to receive his Majesty's directions how to act upon the occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO EARL HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, Dec. 1, 1779.

MY LORD,

The House of Commons having, upon the 24th past, come to a resolution that it was inexpedient, at this time, to grant any new taxes, and having upon the 25th, limited the Loan Bill to six months, the gentlemen who carried the last measure, signified their intention of transferring some of the new additional duties, hitherto granted to the revenue at large for increase of the loan fund, which would, after the 350,000*l.* is borrowed, be deficient to pay the interest of the debentures, and life annuities, by about 50,000*l.* a-year. As this measure respected his Majesty's revenue, I thought it right to take the advice of his Majesty's confidential servants, for my conduct upon a question of such importance. I accordingly summoned a meeting at my apartments in the Castle, at which were present—

The Primate,	Attorney-General,
The Chancellor,	Solicitor-General,
Archbishop of Dublin,	Mr. Clements,
Archbishop of Cashel,	Mr. Burton,
Lord Annaly,	Mr. Foster,
The Speaker,	Mr. Mason.

Lord Chief Justice Paterson, and the Chief Baron, were prevented attending by their business in the Courts; Mr. Beresford was detained at home by illness; and the Provost sent his excuse.

At this meeting, the question under consideration was fully debated; it was, on the one hand, thought exceptionable, to transfer taxes granted for the support of the expences of his Majesty's Government, as it might be easier to continue the taxes for their present purpose, than to prevail upon the Parliament hereafter to grant new ones in their room. On the other hand, the necessity of supporting public credit, at a time when 350,000*l.* was to be borrowed for the urgent occasions of Government, was apparent, and it was thought this credit, which might have already been shaken, by the Loan Bill being limited to six months, would be so hurt, as to disable Government from raising the 350,000*l.*

if the funds for discharging the interest and annuities were suffered to remain so glaringly deficient. And it was at the same time evident, that the gentlemen who had carried the measure of limiting the Loan Bill to six months, as well as many gentlemen who, out of regard to public credit, had voted against that measure, would all vote for this transfer.

Upon these grounds it appeared expedient, that the Resolution for applying the several Duties, should be mentioned to the House, in the same manner as in the last Session; and that if an Amendment should be proposed for transferring those Duties to the Loan Fund, the sense of the House should be seen, previous to the Resolution being formally moved, in order that it should appear an original, and not an amended Resolution; and that should it appear to be the general sense of gentlemen to have the Amendment carried, Government should acquiesce, rather than force a division, which was certain of being carried against them, upon a question of so much delicacy.

Accordingly, Mr. Foster, yesterday, previous to his reading the Resolution to grant the additional Duties in support of the expenses of his Majesty's Government, informed the House he should propose it in the usual manner, and desired, if this was objected to, he might hear what gentlemen had to offer against it. Upon which, Mr. Daly declared his intention of proposing an Amendment, to transfer part of the new additional Duties, granted in 1773, to the Loan Fund. Mr. Attorney-General spoke against the Amendment, and strongly supported the Resolution as proposed by Mr. Foster. He was answered by Mr. Brownlow, Mr. Daly, Mr. Grattan, and many other gentlemen, who called upon Mr. Foster for his sentiments. Mr. Foster said, that as the additional Duties had been granted in support of the expenses of his Majesty's Government till the 25th of December next, when a half-year's interest upon the loans and tontines will become due; and as the next payment would not take place till the 24th of June, 1780, before which time, the reconsideration of the Revenue would come before the House; he could see no reason for disappropriating the funds from the purposes for which they were originally granted. If, however, it was the sense of the House, that the creditors of the nation might be alarmed by the deficiency of the Loan Funds,

which, by the agitation of the question, might be the case, he would not oppose a measure which had for its tendency the support of public credit.

Very little being offered against the Amendment, Mr. Attorney-General declared, that though he was in opinion strongly against the measure, he did not think it right that there should be a division upon such a question.

The Provost then rose to oppose the Amendment, and proposed, that an additional vote of Credit should be given, to make up the deficiency in the Loan Fund, to the 24th of June next. This was strongly objected to, and many gentlemen again speaking in favour of Mr. Daly's Amendment, the Provost withdrew his objections, and the House appearing unanimous, it was moved as an original Resolution;—That, in addition to the usual Duties granted for support of the Loan Fund, all the Duties granted in 1773, in aid of the revenues at large, and calculated to produce 67,800*l.* a-year, should be transferred to the Loan Fund, except the Duties upon Wines, which were estimated at about 13,000*l.* a-year.

Many gentlemen think this transfer for the benefit of Government, as it would assist in raising the 350,000*l.*, so exceedingly wanted; and a full Loan Fund, which will be the case when the revenues rise, facilitates the borrowing of money. And with respect to the revenues at large, they would have been so deficient, even with the Duties now transferred, that it will be impossible for his Majesty's Government to be carried on, unless this kingdom shall receive such satisfaction in the article of her commerce, as shall induce the Parliament to grant new and large taxes.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

State of the Arrears at Lady-Day, 1779, and Estimate of the Deficiency to Lady-Day, 1781; together with a plan to provide for their discharge, and a Scheme of Taxes for the increase of the Loan Fund.

The national accounts of Ireland are made up every two years, to the 25th of March preceding the Session of Parliament; and the arrears remaining unpaid on the 25th of March last, on the several establishments, and other charges of Government, comprised under the general title of Extraordinaries, amounted to £373,706 13 6½

But in the providing for Arrears, credit is always taken for the balances in the Treasury, and Collector's hands, with the Poundage and Pells on those balances, although the application of the one would leave the Treasury pennyless, and the other does not consist of money immediately forthcoming. These balances, on that day, amounted to £253,286 3 7¼

The sum of £120,420 9 11¼

will be necessary to enable Government, with their aid, to discharge the whole.

Besides this, a very large additional arrear will have been incurred from thence to Christmas next, when the present grants of Duties will cease.

It may soon be ascertained, with tolerable precision, to the 29th of September last, but can only be estimated for the Quarter ending at Christmas next; and, it is probable, it will exceed 200,000*l.*; making in the whole 320,000*l.*, necessary to be borrowed, in order to make up the deficiency of the present Duties.

This sum is proposed to be raised in part, by a lottery for 200,000*l.*, the prizes to be paid in debentures, carrying an interest of 4*l.* per cent., and partly by the issuing of bills, in the nature of Exchequer bills, carrying a like interest, and to be paid in the next Session of Parliament.

After the raising of this sum, the charge on the Loan Duties will exceed their produce, taken at an average of their two last years' produce, in the annual sum of near 50,000*l.*

Annual charge:—

£1,017,600 due by debentures, at 4 per cent.	£40,704	0	0
440,000 annuities, at 6 per cent. .	26,400	0	0
300,000 ditto at 7½ ditto .	22,500	0	0
320,000 to be raised, at 4 ditto .	12,800	0	0
2,077,600			
Expence of paying annuities in London, about	1000	0	0
	103,404	0	0
Annual produce	54,441	15	0½
Deficiency . .	£48,962	4	11½

To provide for which deficiency, additions must be made to them by new duties, estimated to produce, at the least, above 50,000*l.* annually. But further additions must be given, to provide, in some sort, towards the probable deficiency of the revenue in the next two years.

And if we suppose the establishments to continue as they now are, and the extraordinaries to amount to the same as in the last two years, and the revenues to equal the last two years' produce, that deficiency will appear to be near 300,000*l.* annually.

Civil establishment for two years .				£335,091	8	2
Military ditto ditto .				1,021,195	16	0
Extraordinaries ditto .				432,474	3	6½
				1,788,761	7	8½
Hereditary revenue for two years, net . .	668,123	14	10¾			
Additional duties, and new additional duties .	480,921	1	10¾			
Stamp duties . .	28,787	16	1			
Poundage and pells on the above . . .	35,335	0	0			
				1,213,167	12	10½
Deficiency .				£575,593	14	10

It would be impracticable in the present situation of this kingdom, even with the warmest concurrence of Parliament, to create new taxes, equal to answer the deficiency, and it would be impossible to raise the whole by loan.

Part of it only is therefore proposed to be provided for by a second lottery in the next year, of 200,000*l.*; a small part may be provided by a further power of issuing Exchequer Bills, and the remainder must depend on the hope of the revenues rising beyond the low estimation here made of them, and of the public affairs admitting a considerable decrease of expense during some part of that period.

When it is considered that 466,000*l.* was borrowed in the last session, and that near 600,000*l.*, will be, as thus proposed, borrowed in this session; in the whole, above a million added to the National Debt in the course of two sessions, and that after so rapid an increase of debt, there is the prospect of a growing annual deficiency of near 300,000*l.*, it is to be expected that every person will be alarmed, unless there shall be a prospect of preventing this increase of the debt, by a very large reduction of expences, or an effectual extension of trade.

A state of the taxes proposed for increasing the Loan Duties in Ireland.

Additional Stamp Duties	£12,000
An Additional Duty on all Goods, except Wine Imported after the rate of 6*l.* per cent. . .	24,000
An Additional Duty on all Wines Imported at 4*l.* 6*s.* per ton	21,000
N. B. Wine now pays 20*l.* 14*s.* per ton, net. This Duty will therefore bring the whole to 25*l.* per ton	
An Additional Duty of 1*s.* on all Raw and Untanned Hides exported	3,000
	60,500
An Additional Duty of 1*d.* per lb. on Tobacco has been proposed, but it is much doubted whether, considering the advanced prices of Tobacco, this Duty would be productive, although it has been computed at	15,000

*LORD HILLSBOROUGH TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

St James's, 1st Dec. 1779.

My Lord,

As one of the principal objects of my attention on coming into my office, was the critical and alarming state of Ireland, I have carefully read the several letters that have passed between your Excellency and Lord Weymouth upon that subject.

I observe that, on the 18th of May last, it was strongly recommended to your Excellency "to direct your most serious thoughts to that important matter, and to transmit your opinion, together with such information and materials as might lead to the forming of a proper judgment on a point of such serious concern as the welfare of the kingdom of Ireland."

On the first of June His Majesty's pleasure was signified to your Excellency, that you should make this important subject the immediate object of your closest attention.

In consequence of these requisitions, your Excellency writes on the 27th of May, that you had communicated the Address of the House of Lords to several persons of the first rank and consequence in Ireland, and desired them to deliver their sentiments and opinions to your Excellency in writing thereupon, and that you had also made the same communication to the Commissioners of His Majesty's revenue, desiring them immediately to take the important matter into their consideration, and prepare, and lay before your Excellency, to be transmitted for the information of the House of Lords, such states of the trade and manufactures of Ireland, as would show in what particulars and proportions they have declined, with their opinion of the causes thereof, and how the same might be best remedied, together with all such materials as might enable their Lordships to form a proper judgment on a point of such high concern, as the welfare of the kingdom of Ireland.

On the 8th, 16th, and 23d of June, and on the 4th and 12th

* Lord Weymouth had retired from the office of Secretary of the Home Department, and was succeeded by the Earl of Hillsborough.

of July, your Excellency transmitted the several sentiments and opinions, as given to your Excellency in writing, of the great and considerable persons before mentioned, together with a copy of the Report of the Commissioners of the Revenue, and twelve inclosures referred to in the said Report.

The Report and its inclosures are very material, and contain much useful information on this important subject; but I cannot conceal from your Excellency, that I felt myself much disappointed in finding that in so long a time as from the 12th of July last, to the month of November, all correspondence between your Excellency and my office has subsided, upon a subject so interesting to the peace and welfare of both kingdoms; nor has your Excellency, from the first communication of the Lords' Address to this time, offered any opinion of your own on this weighty consideration; although I doubt not that you have applied yourself closely to it, and taken every method to enable yourself to form one, the communication of which, and the materials on which it is founded, could not fail of being very important to the king's servants, in a discussion of matters of so delicate and difficult a nature.

The several circumstances that have since intervened, make that opinion and those materials still more desirable; and I have His Majesty's commands to instruct your Excellency to convey to me, for His Majesty's information, your opinion on the several points which it may be proper to concede to Ireland, in order to relieve that kingdom from its present difficulties, promote the industry of its inhabitants, restore tranquillity, and confirm and increase that loyalty and affection to the king's person and government, which have so long distinguished the subjects of that kingdom. Your Excellency will at the same time have in your contemplation, the effects which the concessions proposed may have upon the interests of this kingdom, which must be equally the object of that paternal care and solicitude which his Majesty extends to every part of his dominions.

I am, &c.

HILLSBOROUGH.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, Dec. 9. 1779.

My Lord,

I received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 1st instant, and would not delay one moment to return my answer to the several matters of importance therein contained.

And first, I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship, that having, in consequence of Lord Weymouth's letter of the 18th of May last, directed my serious thoughts to the important matters therein mentioned, I transmitted to his Lordship, in various dispatches to the 12th of July, every material, and every information, which occurred to me as being in my power to obtain, and which, I thought, would lead his Majesty's ministers to the forming a proper judgment of the commercial distresses of this kingdom, together with the general sentiments of the best informed and most understanding persons upon the subject.

I must further observe, that Lord Weymouth having informed me, in his letter of the 18th of May last, that he trusted he should soon be enabled to write to me fully upon the subject, and not having had the honour of hearing further from him thereon, I naturally concluded his Lordship's silence arose from the materials I transmitted having been found sufficient and satisfactory to his Majesty's servants.

To this supposition, and to my not having received any subsequent information of sufficient authority for me to communicate, your Lordship's candour will attribute the chasm of correspondence alluded to between your office, and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. And your Lordship will have observed, that the several letters between the 1st of June and the 12th of July, mentioned by your Lordship, were written by me since the last which I received from Lord Weymouth upon that subject.

As to the not having offered any opinion of my own, I beg leave to add, that after having transmitted every material which might enable me to form one, it remained for me to wait the hearing more fully from Lord Weymouth, agreeably to the

expectations conveyed in his letter, before I could pretend to advance any sentiment, except such as must obviously have occurred to his Majesty's servants upon reading those materials. But difficult and delicate as it is, I must give it as my opinion, that an effectual extension of trade is essential to restore tranquillity, and relieve the distresses of this kingdom, and that the whole of that extension should be made at once. The great and considerable benefits expected to operate most immediately upon the freedom of trade desired by Ireland, would be the power of exporting woollens to all the world except Great Britain, and the direct import and export of all commodities to and from the plantations. As to all other points desired by Ireland, in their addresses for a free trade, it is represented to me, that their effects would neither be very considerable nor immediate, and consequently little likely to interfere with the commerce of Great Britain. I submit it, therefore, supposing these assertions are founded, whether, if the Parliament of Great Britain shall think proper to open the woollen and plantation trade to Ireland, it would be advisable to retain the restrictions in those other points, the removal of which would fill up the measure of the demands of Ireland.

In regard to the effects which such measures may have on the interests of Great Britain, my absence from that kingdom, and total want of every document and information which must be furnished by persons there, deeply conversant in its trade and manufactures, render me very unequal to the task of deciding how far her commerce might be affected by the extension of that of Ireland; yet, I will venture to say, that her loss by indulgence must be very considerable, to counterbalance that which she must incur, from the indisposition of Ireland, consequential to the continuance of the present restrictions.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

LORD HILLSBOROUGH TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

St. James's, Dec. 25, 1779.

My Lord,

I am to acquaint your Excellency, that a proclamation will be forthwith issued here, in consequence of an order of his Majesty in council, offering a reward for the apprehending and convicting any persons that shall convey arms, ammunition, provisions, or any other aids to the enemy; and it is his Majesty's pleasure, that your Excellency and council in Ireland do cause a like proclamation to issue in that kingdom. I will not fail to transmit to your Excellency the order of council, for your guidance herein, as soon as I receive it from the council office.

Inclosed I send you, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a second letter of intelligence, from Mr. Gordon, relative to the contract for provisions with Messrs. King and Cormack, of Cork, and I am confidentially informed, that the value of the provisions contracted for amounts to no less a sum than 60,000*l.* sterling. It will easily occur to your Excellency, that the present critical situation of Ireland renders it difficult to his Majesty's servants here to determine upon any measures to be taken, in order to prevent this important and dangerous supply from being conveyed to the enemy. I have it, therefore, in command from his Majesty, that your Excellency should take the most effectual means to that end, which may be adopted with prudence at the present time, and made consistent with the important political considerations which you must not for a moment lose sight of; and I doubt not that your Excellency will exert the same endeavours to prevent the exportation of provisions for the use of the enemy from any port in Ireland.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Hillsborough.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, Jan. 12, 1780.

My Lord,

I think it incumbent on me to apprize your Lordship, for his Majesty's information, that a copy of an address, of which I enclose you a copy, from an armed society at Cork, who call themselves the "Cork Union," having been left by Mr. Armstead, one of that body, and also a member of the "Lawyer's Armed Society," in this city, with Sir Richard Heron, my secretary, I directed him to acquaint Mr. Armstead, that I was particularly sensible of the obliging attention intended to me, though I thought it necessary to decline receiving the address; and some others of these societies having since offered to address me, although in terms not exceptionable, I have declined receiving them.

I also think it necessary to enclose to your Lordship a handbill, printed in the town of Newry, proposing a general and speedy institution of committees of correspondence, in the trading towns of this kingdom, which was transmitted from the collector of that place, and laid before me by the commissioners of his Majesty's revenue here. And I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordship, that at the meeting which was held here on Friday, the 7th instant, in consequence of this printed intimation, it was agreed by a large majority, after much altercation, that the committee should be solely on commercial affairs, and should have nothing to do with political matters.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Buckingham.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, Jan. 30, 1780.

My Lord,

After having employed different persons at Cork, with the assistance of Lord Shannon, to obtain evidence of the actual destination of the provisions fitting out there, and at the other ports of this kingdom, I am very apprehensive no positive evidence

can be obtained of their being actually intended for the enemy, so as to found proceedings in the ordinary legal course against the persons employed in this illicit traffic, or to render it prudent to stop the vessels. I am advised that any measure to be taken by me, or the Privy Council, to stop the sailing of these provisions, would be immediately productive of dangerous violence.

These provisions are carried in Dutch ships, cleared out for Campvere, and other Dutch ports, and consigned to Dutch merchants; but as there is no positive evidence of their being intended for the enemy, it will not be possible for me, unless your Lordship should signify to me His Majesty's orders, to take any measures from the mere circumstance of their clearing out in this suspicious manner.

I have ordered an account to be taken of the quantity of provisions cleared out now for the Dutch ports, with the quantity cleared out in former years, and apprehend it will appear upon the comparison that the provisions must be either intended for France, or to fit out Dutch fleets, which, from the late proceeding of Great Britain with that power, would be presumed to be provided with hostile intentions to Great Britain. Should this enquiry produce, with other circumstances, sufficient evidence, and His Majesty should be advised to direct my sending a message to the Houses of Parliament, founded upon it, it is very probable Parliament might advise some measure to prevent this assistance to the enemy. But whether a message could be so framed as not to interfere with the King's prerogative, is a question of which His Majesty's ministers are the best judges. If it were thought advisable to purchase the provisions, or at least the good parts, preparing for the enemy, for His Majesty's Service, it would defeat the enemy and prevent any discontent, and probably the loss would not be great. But I am advised that an embargo at this time, without an Address from Parliament, would be very likely to occasion much mischief.

An order, stopping all Dutch ships loaded with provisions, might not be so ill received here as an embargo, but that is a measure of State, for the consideration of His Majesty and his ministers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

LORD HILLSBOROUGH TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

St. James's, Feb. 6, 1780.

My Lord,

I received yesterday your Excellency's letter, dated 30th January, and marked private, the contents of which appeared to me to be so important that I lost no time in receiving the King's commands to lay it before His Majesty's confidential servants, for their advice and opinion thereupon. Your Excellency in that letter says, that any measure to be taken by you or the Privy Council to stop the sailing of the provisions from Cork, would be immediately productive of dangerous violence. This appears to us to be little short of a declaration that all government in Ireland is dissolved. His Majesty's servants in England can form no opinion of the state of Ireland but through your Excellency's information, and therefore for them to recommend to His Majesty to give your Excellency any orders with regard to the export of provisions from Ireland, would be in other words to direct your Excellency to take such steps as you are advised would be immediately productive of dangerous violence. Under this dilemma we are left, my Lord, to lament the unhappy situation of the King's affairs in Ireland, and it is impossible to reflect, without the utmost concern and astonishment, that whilst His Majesty is taking every possible step in his power to relieve and give satisfaction to his Irish subjects, he should in the same hour be told that his Government in that kingdom is under apprehensions of immediate dangerous violence, if necessary measures are taken to prevent his enemies from receiving those supplies from thence, without which they would find it very difficult to carry on the war against these kingdoms.

Upon the whole, therefore, the King's servants on this side, cannot answer to themselves to advise His Majesty to direct your Excellency to lay on an embargo by your own authority, which you said would be likely to occasion much mischief, the extent of which they cannot possibly judge of, nor compare with that which must arise from supplying the French fleet with provisions; and it would be full as improper to direct your

Excellency to send any message to Parliament which might any ways commit the prerogative of the Crown. But is there no member of Parliament, who being acquainted with the circumstances of this matter, and seeing on the one hand the difficulties of Government, with regard to the measures necessary to be taken in order to distress the enemy, and on the other, the immense and dangerous advantages that that enemy will reap from the omission of them,—I say, is there no member of Parliament who, thus informed, would have public spirit enough to stand up in the House of Commons, and move an address to your Excellency, to take such measures, either by embargo, for a short time, or otherwise, as might effectually prevent the enemy's fleets from being victualled with provisions from Ireland? If your Excellency can find such a man, it appears to the King's servants that it might be the best way to obviate all objections, and to attain this very desirable, I had almost said necessary, measure.

I humbly recommend to your Excellency to exert yourself upon this occasion. Stopping these provisions, is equal to the gain of a battle at sea, and may go farther towards giving the superiority to His Majesty over his enemies. I do not venture to name any gentleman to you, because your Excellency must be so much better informed than I am; and yet I do not doubt but that I could name some who would undertake this salutary measure. Give me leave, however, to observe, that the address must be grounded on the notoriety of the fact; for if there be delay in order to call for papers, or appoint Committees, or any such Parliamentary proceedings, the end may be defeated; by such delay, the contractors get notice, and the loaded vessels put to sea. Sir Richard Heron can, if called upon, stand up in his place, and give the information that your Excellency has received from my office, and in consequence of your own enquiries; and state the conviction we are all under that the provisions in question are indubitably intended for the supply of the French and Spaniards, although it might not be easy to bring such proof of that intention as would be necessary in a court of law. In case this question should be moved and carried, it will be necessary, I apprehend, for your Excellency to have the Privy Council assembled, and all necessaries prepared for laying

the embargo with all possible dispatch; and I should think five or six weeks from the date of it would be sufficient for its continuance. In the mean time, for the relief of those who might be sufferers from the embargo, Government may take into consideration the propriety of purchasing the prepared cargoes, when it shall be known in what quantity they consist, and to what amount the expense would extend.

I most heartily wish your Excellency success in this important measure, and am with the greatest truth and respect, &c.

HILLSBOROUGH.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, Feb. 10, 1780.

MY LORD.

The House of Commons met yesterday, according to their adjournment, when Mr. Foster moved that the House should this morning take into further consideration my speech to both Houses of Parliament. This motion was made for the purpose of opening the Committee of Supply, in order to lay on the duties relative to trade, in consequence of the British Acts of this session. It was objected that there would not be time to go through the whole of the business before it would be necessary to adjourn on account of the circuits, when many gentlemen would be obliged to go into the country, in whose absence it would be improper to proceed in such important business. This brought on a debate, and as it appeared that the gentlemen in opposition wished to postpone business till after the circuits, in expectation that addresses and instructions might be then procured to influence the Parliament upon any constitutional questions those gentlemen may intend to bring forward, it was on that ground thought material that the friends of Government should not be detained from the circuits. It was however urged, on the part of the Government, that the House might proceed until the time of the circuits, but signified that it was not intended to proceed during their continuance, and the motion was unanimously agreed to. The circuits begin the 29th of this [illegible] is remarkably early; and as I have not yet [illegible] Lord North's sentiments upon the

several subjects relative to trade duties, I cannot but be apprehensive that I shall not be able to send over any Bill respecting them before the circuits end, unless I shall very soon receive his Lordship's sentiments respecting them. Those duties are expected to produce between sixty and seventy thousand pounds a-year; I am advised that it is material to have them passed as soon as possible, not only on account of the new revenue they will bring, but because all trade will be at a stand, and the old revenues fall, until it shall be known on which articles, and to what amount, they will be imposed.

Sir Richard Johnston yesterday gave notice that he should on Wednesday next move a question upon Poyning's Law, and Sir William Osborne gave notice that he should move a question upon that part of the British Act which restrains the import of glass into Ireland from any other country but Great Britain. As neither of these gentlemen act in concert with the body of opposition, it is apprehended their motions will not be then made; but if they can be forced on, we wish to meet them thus early, and have very little doubt of successfully opposing them.

Various committees relative to trade are appointed in consequence of petitions, and many more are expected, which will give the House full employment for some days.

Sir Samuel Bradstreet moved for leave to bring in Heads of a Bill for the better securing the liberty of the subject. The Bill he proposes is a Habeas Corpus Act, the same as in Great Britain.

I understand that there have been similar attempts in this House of Commons, and that they have passed the House, but have either been stopped in the Privy Council, or not returned from England: and I do not find that this Bill could be opposed with success.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, 17th Feb. 1780.

My Lord,

I received by your Lordship's messenger on the 11th instant, your letter of the 6th, upon the subject of my letter of the 30th of January, marked private. Your Lordship therein says, that if I can find a member of the House of Commons who has public spirit enough to stand up and move an address to me, to take such measures, either by embargo, or otherwise, as may effectually prevent the enemy's fleet from being victualled with provisions from Ireland, it appears to the king's servants, that it might be the best way to attain this desirable purpose; but your Lordship, at the same time, informs me you have postponed taking into your consideration the propriety of the measure which I had the honour of proposing for that purpose, I mean that of purchasing the prepared cargoes for His Majesty's use—until you should know what quantity they consist of, and to what amount the expense would extend.

I did immediately thereupon consult with such of His Majesty's confidential servants as were most likely to carry the measure into execution in the House of Commons, and such lords and gentlemen of the south as are best acquainted with the present circumstances of that part of the kingdom, and from their opinions being either absolutely against the measure, or their offering their support so reluctantly, as to convince me of their doubts of success, and their dislike to it, I am firmly persuaded that the proposing such a measure would have a very ill effect upon the remaining and by much the most important difficulties and business of the session, and that His Majesty's purchasing the provisions, which it is supposed are designed for the enemy, would be the most salutary and effectual mode of preventing their being sent to them.

This enquiry has convinced me that I was perfectly founded in the representation I made to your Lordship in my letter of the 30th past, and when your Lordship considers that the last embargo continued for near three years, and that however doubtful the opinion may be, it is unanimously believed, that

it occasioned and continued the late general distress of this kingdom, by which great numbers of merchants and graziers were ruined, and the gentlemen of the country were not only universally prevented from receiving their rents, but many of their farms became untenanted, and the rents of others much reduced, your Lordship must see that an embargo would now create a general alarm, lest the same distress should be renewed, and you will not, I hope, construe all Government to be dissolved, as your Lordship is pleased to express yourself, because I deliver my opinion that an embargo would be productive of dangerous violence. The immediate turning the attention of the people here to the enjoyment of the trade of which they are now partly, and will be soon in the full possession, is of the utmost importance to this kingdom, and to the support and ease of His Majesty's Government; and your Lordship will judge whether any thing can operate more directly against such an object, than an embargo in its nature stopping trade; more especially, if it be apparent that the real end of an embargo may at this time be attained by purchasing the provisions.

When your Lordship says, "it is impossible to reflect without the utmost concern and astonishment that whilst His Majesty is taking every possible step in his power to relieve and give satisfaction to his Irish subjects, he should in the same hour be told that his government in that kingdom is under apprehensions of immediate dangerous violence, if necessary measures are taken to prevent his enemies receiving those supplies from hence, without which they would find it difficult to carry on the war against these kingdoms;" you will do me the justice to recollect that I recommend to your Lordship a measure adequate to answer that salutary end; viz. the purchase of the provisions; which would not be productive of any dangerous violence. Therefore, I did not say that His Majesty's Government would be under apprehension of immediate dangerous violence if necessary measures were taken, but only if the measure proposed, but not directed by your Lordship, were adopted at a time that it could not be said to be necessary; another equally effectual being suggested by me.

I should add, as a further reason against the expediency of hazarding the measure of an embargo at this time, that having, immediately on the receipt of your Lordship's letter, sent an express to Cork, to know the quantity of provisions which were

ready to sail in Dutch bottoms, the conveyance your Lordship mentions for them to the enemy, I find by the enclosed copies of a letter and return of exports from Mr. Davis, the Port Surveyor, that it is small, and that the extent of the evil which the embargo would immediately effect, is not of the magnitude your Lordship would seem to apprehend. But the alarm it would occasion would not be the less, and the discontent would rise in proportion to the smallness of the apparent necessity of its being imposed; from hence also, your Lordship will judge that the expense of the purchasing will not probably be very considerable.

Upon the whole I submit to your Lordship that the purchasing the provisions is the easiest and most salutary mode of preventing the evil, and that if His Majesty's servants shall be of that opinion, orders should be given for that purpose, and a power to treat for such as may hereafter be intended to be shipped.

But if, notwithstanding what I have submitted here, and in my letter of the 30th past, and also that the kingdom is yet sore from the effects of a very long embargo which has been so lately removed, His Majesty shall be advised to order an embargo, I shall most readily obey his commands, and will immediately take every step to prevent, as far as possible, the ill effects apprehended here from this measure.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, 21st Feb. 1780.

MY LORD,

Agreeably to the notice, which I mentioned in my letter of the 10th instant, Lord Carysfort had given to the House of Lords, his Lordship to day presented Heads of a Bill for regulating the Army of Ireland. He contended that the Act of Mutiny and Desertion being a British Act, could not have force in Ireland, and even though British Acts wherein Ireland was specified, or included, by general terms, were in force here, the Act in question was so worded, as on that principle not to extend to Ireland.

The Heads of the Bill being read, Lord Ely moved that the second reading should be postponed to the 1st of September. In the debate which ensued, the Chancellor, the Archbishop of Cashel, Lord Annaly, and Lord Farnham exerted themselves with great ability against the Bill, which was received with general dissatisfaction, and the question being put upon Lord Ely's motion, it was carried without a division.

Lord Mountmorris gave notice, that he would on Thursday next, move the House upon a subject of the first importance, but his Lordship declined mentioning what it respected, further than that it involved the same question as Lord Carysfort's Bill, meaning, I suppose, the legislative power of Great Britain.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, April 29, 1780.

MY LORD,

Since the letter I had the honour of writing to your Lordship of the 22nd instant, upon the subject of a Bill for the punishment of Mutiny and Desertion, which had been attempted to be introduced into this House of Commons, I find that a Bill of a similar nature was before the Parliament of this kingdom, in the year 1692.

It appears from the Journals of the Irish House of Commons, vol. ii. p. 615, that on the 28th of October, in that year, an engrossed Bill was sent from the Lords, entitled, "An Act for punishing Officers and Soldiers, who shall mutiny or desert their Majesty's service;" which, having been read twice, was committed to a Select Committee, on the first of November.

While the Bill was lying before this Committee, the then Lord Lieutenant, Lord Sidney, sent the following message to the House.

"SIDNEY,

"There is a Bill transmitted from England, entituled, 'An Act for punishing Officers and Soldiers, who shall mutiny or desert their Majesty's service;' which had passed the Lords' House and is sent to the Commons. This Bill so much concerns the

making the Army useful and serviceable, by keeping the soldiers under discipline, and, consequently, is so much for the good and benefit of this kingdom, that I cannot but recommend it to the House of Commons, to be taken into their consideration."

"From their Majesty's Castle of Dublin, the 2nd day of November, 1692. By his Excellency's special command.

"C. WYCH."

Upon this, the House ordered, that the above message should be entered on the Journals; and an additional number of members were appointed to the Select Committee, to take the Bill into their consideration, and report their opinion thereon on the morrow-morning.

It appears on the Report, that the Committee had thrown out a proviso in the Bill, by which it was to continue in force until the 2nd day of November, 1695, and from thence to the end of the first Session of the next Parliament, and instead thereof, inserted the following.

"Provided also, that this Act shall continue and be in force for one year, from the day of the Royal assent given to the said Bill, and no longer."

The Bill was then rejected by the House, and a new Committee immediately appointed to prepare Heads of another Bill of the same title; but nothing further was done in the business, as the Parliament was prorogued that very day.

The books of the Privy Council here having been burnt in 1711, there are no traces of this Bill in their office; but as the House of Lords met on the 5th of October, and the first notice of this Bill in their Journals, is their Resolution, on the 25th following, to give it the first reading, it seems that it originated in the Privy Council.

In this Session, a Bill for granting certain Duties to their Majesties for one year, was rejected by the Commons; "for that the same had not taken its rise in their House." On which account, as appears by the Lord Lieutenant's Speech, entered in the Journals, the Parliament was prorogued; and Harris, in his Life of King William, p. 373, says, that this Bill for pu-

nishing Mutiny and Desertion, with several others, fell to the ground, on the same account.

I have stated these several particulars to your Lordship, because, upon the proposing a Mutiny Bill here, it will certainly be urged, that these Proceedings show it was the opinion of his Majesty and his Ministers in 1692, that such a Bill was necessary, or at the least expedient at that time. And as there are no books of correspondence in the Paper Office here, of so old a date as that year, nothing can be traced which can explain why this Bill was so particularly recommended to the House of Commons by Lord Sidney, nor has any thing been found to throw further light upon this transaction.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

SIR RICHARD HERON TO SIR STANIER PORTEN.

Dublin Castle, May 2, 1780.

SIR,

I am directed by my Lord Lieutenant to acquaint you, by the messenger who brings over the Money-Bills, for the information of Lord Hillsborough, that Mr. Bushe gave notice to-day in the House of Commons, that he should on Monday next repeat his motion, for leave to bring in Heads of a Mutiny Bill.

The apprehensions of mischief, from the general opinion that such a Bill is necessary, will make it difficult to resist this motion with effect; but his Excellency hopes, that he shall, before Monday, receive from Lord Hillsborough his Majesty's directions for his conduct on this most important question.

My Lord Lieutenant has also directed me to acquaint you, that if he shall not hear from Lord Hillsborough before Monday, he will endeavour to have the motion deferred for a day or two, but it will certainly be brought on in the beginning of the week.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RICHARD HERON.

SIR RICHARD HERON TO SIR STANIER PORTEN.

Dublin Castle, 13th May, 1780.

SIR,

Upon reading over my Lord Lieutenant's dispatch to Lord Hillsborough of the 8th instant, upon the subject of the Mutiny Bill, moved by Mr. Bushe, it appears, that where his Excellency states the Lords and gentlemen who gave their opinions at the Castle on the necessity of that measure, no mention is made of Mr. Flood; and as that gentlemen stated very strongly the necessity of it, I am directed, by the Lord Lieutenant, to communicate this circumstance to you for the information of Lord Hillsborough.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RICHARD HERON.

SIR RICHARD HERON TO JOHN ROBINSON, ESQ.

Dublin Castle, 13th May, 1780.

SIR,

As Lord North might be anxious to receive the earliest intelligence of what passes in the House of Commons upon the duties to be laid on refined and bastard sugars from Great Britain, I am directed, by my Lord Lieutenant, to communicate to you, for his Lordship's information, what has been done in this important business.

I received yesterday morning, by express from Mr. Hamilton your letter to him of the 12th instant, containing Lord North's determination upon this subject; and as yesterday had been fixed by the House of Commons for considering the resolutions respecting sugars, the Attorney-General moved in the committee of ways and means, that an additional duty should be laid on British refined sugars in loaves of 5*s.* 10¼*d.* per cwt. This Resolution was immediately opposed, and Mr. Latouche moved, by way of amendment, that, instead of the sum of 5*s.* 10¼*d.*, the sum of 2*l.* 1*s.*, should be inserted; and Captain Burgh having moved, that after the words, *two pounds, one*

shilling, the words *amounting to a prohibition of British Refined Sugars* should be added; a long debate ensued, in which the original motion was supported with great zeal and ability by Mr. Beresford.

About ten o'clock, the Committee in general appearing to be against a prohibitory duty; and, at the same time, many gentlemen thinking the sum proposed by the Attorney-General too low, the above Amendments were withdrawn, and a third proposed by Mr. Latouche, that 16*s.* 7½*d.* should be inserted instead of 5*s.* 10½*d.*, upon which, after some debate, the Committee divided,—Ayes 48—Noes 101.

A fourth Amendment was then proposed by Mr. Metge, of 11*s.* 1*d.*, which being negatived by 78 to 73, Sir Lucius O'Brien moved for the sum of 9*s.* 4½*d.* to be inserted; and this being rejected by 80 to 74, a sixth Amendment was offered by Mr. Crookshank, of 9*s.* 3*d.*, which also passed in the negative. After this, the question being put upon the original Resolution, it was carried without a division. The Attorney-General then moved that 1*s.* 10*d.* per cwt. should be laid on all bastard sugars imported from Great Britain, which was likewise acquiesced in, and the Report being made to the House, it was ordered to be received to-day.

As these resolutions were carried with so much difficulty, and many members were absent from the divisions it was determined by the Opposition to move to-day for their recommitment. But the House being thin upon the order being read for receiving the report, it was proposed that the Report on the two resolutions respecting sugars, should be postponed till to-morrow, in which, as it seemed to be the general sense of the few members present, and Mr. Beresford being prevented by indisposition from attending to-day, it was judged prudent to acquiesce.

Mr. Mason proposed that the duty on refined sugars should be 11*s.* 1*d.* until the 24th of June 1781, and 5*s.* 10½*d.* from that time, upon the opinion that the direct imports from the colonies could not take place till that time, and, consequently, that the Irish refinery would, till it did, be loaded with the circuitous expense of 4*s.* per cwt. on the raw material, which would destroy the refinery. Several of the old friends and servants of the Government divided against us in all the divisions

subsequent to that upon the 16*s.* 7½*d.*, and in general the duty of 5*s.* 10¼*d.* is thought insufficient, at least till the direct import can take place to preserve the Irish refinery on the same footing it now stands with respect to the British refinery. This apprehension has occasioned a general alarm, and will, it is said, produce new associations against the imports of British manufactures.

As the House did not adjourn last night till after twelve, when the mail is despatched, I could not then give you an account of what passed.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

RICHARD HERON.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, May 18, 1780.

MY LORD,

Your Lordship, in your letter of the 22nd past, mentions, that what the Committee of Supply has done, will give the greatest satisfaction, provided the sum granted, together with the new taxes, shall enable his Majesty to carry on Government with credit and dignity, till the next session of Parliament.

I need not say it is my most ardent wish, that the provision which has been made may effectually answer this purpose; but as it could be made upon estimate only, no man can answer with certainty for the event. I can, therefore, only state to your Lordship the grounds on which that provision was made, and that it is the opinion of those who seem best acquainted with the subject, that the estimates are formed upon just and proper grounds.

The supply is divided into two periods. The first takes in the time from the 25th of March, 1779, to the 24th of June, 1780, and is to provide for such arrears as shall be due on the said 24th of June, the day on which the present duties will expire, and it was computed that a sum of 260,000*l.*, over and above the sum of 350,000*l.* granted already this session, and over and above all solvent balances in the treasury and collector's hands, will be wanting to discharge those arrears, and clear his Majesty's establishment, the grants of Parliament, and other charges to that day.

Your Lordship will see in the Loan Bill now transmitted, authority is given for raising the sum in such a manner as shall be thought most expedient by his Majesty's chief governor, on loan, by debentures, treasury bills, or one or more lotteries. But it will probably be proposed to be raised by treasury bills, to be paid off by the produce of those lotteries as far as they shall go.

The other period of supply is from the 24th of June next to the 25th of December, 1781, being the time for which the duties contained in the bills transmitted now are granted to provide.

For your Lordship's more particular information, I shall state the estimate on which this supply is calculated.

EXPENSES.

	£.	s.	d.
The Annual Charge of the Civil Establishment, as it stood on the 25th March, 1780.....	161,686	9	1
Ditto of the Military Establishment, as it stood on the 31st of March, 1780	465,793	19	9¼
The Extraordinaries, as in the last year, deducting Parliamentary Grants, which are included in the preceding period	169,994	2	5¾
Interest of Debentures and Annuities, and of the above 260,000*l.* when borrowed	116,753	0	0
Total Charge	£914,227	11	4
The Hereditary Revenues, on an average of six years' gross produce (with expense of management, &c., as in the last year deducted), produced the net sum of	385,258	6	8¼
Old Additional Duties, at a like average	195,143	8	7¼
New Additional Duties, being those which were established in Lord Harcourt's two sessions, on an average	76,762	8	11
Stamp Duties, net	14,140	11	8
Loan Duties, on an average	64,383	18	10⅝
Pells and Poundage	20,045	0	0
	755,733	14	9⅛
Annual Deficiency	£158,493	16	6⅞

To answer which deficiency, the following Taxes have been proposed and voted, and are estimated to produce annually as follows:—	£.	s.	d.
1*d.* lb. on British Hops imported	6,075	7	0
Additional Duties on Muscovado and Refined Sugars imported	58,680	3	$3\frac{3}{4}$
$1\frac{63}{100}d.$ per lb. on Tobacco	29,824	10	$1\frac{3}{4}$
10*l.* 7*s.* per ton on French Wines, and 5*l.* on Spanish and all other Wines, except those of Portugal	31,214	4	$11\frac{1}{2}$
Additional Stamp Duties by return from the office	14,700	0	0
2*l.* 6*s.* per ton on Vinegar, about	800	0	0
	141,294	5	5
Thereto adding the Post-office	12,000	0	0
The whole will be per annum.....	153,294	5	5
Remaining deficiency	5,199	11	$1\frac{1}{8}$

In this estimate the revenues are stated at an average of six years, to the 25th of March, 1779, for such as have existed so long, and at an average from their commencement, for such duties as have not existed for six years.

This average produce is higher than the average produce of last year, to Lady-day, 1780, appears to have been, but it may be considered as the truest estimate to be formed; the revenues for four of the six years on which it was taken, that is to say, the two years to Lady-day, 1775, and the two years to Lady-day, 1779, having been considerably lower than in the preceding two years; besides which, the revenue is supposed to be rising, and it is the opinion of the most conversant in the revenue that it will continue to rise; and the expense of collection which was increased by some great accidental expences in the year, taken into this estimate will probably admit of some decrease.

Your Lordship will here observe, that a year's expense and revenue only is stated, to which adding six months more, the

deficiency of revenue at Christmas,1781, will be 7,799*l.* 6s. 8*d.* if the revenues and new taxes keep up as estimated. But there possibly may be a further deficiency in the produce of the new tax on wines, as it is stated at their average import of six years, and the use of wines is supposed to have decreased in that time. There will be a deficiency, too, for the purposes of Government, on whatever may be the surplus of the loan duties in the said eighteen months; but these deficiencies are expected to be more than compensated by the equalizing duties on the American trade, none of which are included in the foregoing estimate except on sugar and tobacco.

I have thus stated the several particulars of the supply, and relying on the one hand upon the opinion given me that the revenue is likely to hold to the estimate, and on the other, that there will be no extraordinary and unusual expenses, I flatter myself that with it, His Majesty's Government may be carried on with dignity and credit, and at all events without distress. Till the next session of Parliament, no further requisition could have been made upon the estimate here particularized; and your Lordship will observe that the Commons have in this session granted 350,000*l.* before Christmas, and 260,000*l.* since Christmas, in the whole 610,000*l.* to be raised by loan. They will also have imposed new taxes to the estimated annual amount of 153,000*l.* I understand no effort of equal magnitude, either in loan or taxes, was ever yet made in one session. All the new taxes that have been granted in all the sessions since His late Majesty's accession, both for ordinary supply and loan together, are represented to me not to exceed the estimated amount of those new taxes granted in one year. Nor did all the sums previous to the year 1763, put together, create so large a debt as the borrowing of 610,000*l.* in this single session will occasion. The utmost borrowed in any one session was 466,000*l.* and that in the very last.

I should wish to point out to your Lordship that the usual mode of supply has been to make provision for any real or supposed deficiency no farther than to the 25th of March preceding the expiration of the duties to found the new grants, whether by duties or votes of credit on a two years' estimate from the said day, and to leave the nine months, between the 25th of March,

to which such estimate is calculated, and the Christmas following to the consideration of the succeeding session. But the Commons have in this session departed from that mode, and having provided a sum to clear arrears from the 25th of March, 1779, to the 24th of June, 1780, a period of fifteen months, and having also granted new duties to equalise the expenses thence to Christmas, 1781, a period of eighteen months, they have actually made a provision for two years and nine months, a circumstance never before known in this kingdom since biennial sessions took place.

From all these circumstances of their liberal endeavours, and from the impoverished state of this kingdom, any further requisition from me (which could be grounded only on a possible fall of revenue below its average) would have been imprudent. And if the revenue should unfortunately and unexpectedly so fall, the arrear which may be occasioned thereby will not be so distressing as not to wait without inconvenience to be provided for in the next session.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

SIR RICHARD HERON TO JOHN ROBINSON, ESQ.

Dublin Castle, May 20, 1780.

SIR,

Having had the honour of acquainting you in my letter of the 18th instant what had passed here respecting the duties on sugar, I am directed by my Lord Lieutenant to communicate to you, for Lord North's information, the further proceedings of the House of Commons upon this subject. As the design of Opposition, mentioned to you in my letter, to re-commit the two resolutions of the committee of ways and means, for laying a duty of *5s.* 10¼*d.* on refined, and 1*s.* 10*d.* on bastard sugars, imported from Great Britain, could be only made for the purpose of raising them, it was determined to give every possible opposition to the re-commitment, which might possibly have succeeded, had not the Duke of Leinster's friends, and some other gentlemen, declared in the House, that they could not support Government in resisting such a motion.

This motion was supported with great violence by Opposition, and produced a long debate, till near 10 o'clock, when the House divided; for the re-committal, 130, against 55. The House then resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, and the resolutions being re-committed, a duty of 16*s.* 7½*d.* was proposed by Mr. Latouche, instead of 5*s.* 10¼*d.* but the House in general appearing against it, as amounting to a prohibition, Mr. Metge moved that 12*s.* should be inserted, and Sir Lucius O'Brien 11*s.* 1*d.* which he insisted was the true sum; after some debate, Sir Lucius O'Brien withdrew his motion, and the duty of 12*s.* was carried by 106 to 71. Mr. Hussey Burgh then moved, that a duty of 4*s.* 7½*d.* should be imposed on all bastard and powder sugars imported from Great Britain, which being submitted to, the committee adjourned, and the report was ordered to be received to-day.

This debate turned entirely upon the probability or improbability of this kingdom obtaining a direct import, so as to save the circuitous expense, it being generally understood that a duty of 5*s.* 10¼*d.* would not be sufficient if the Irish refiner shall continue subject to the circuitous expense; and those who think the direct import will not take place during the eighteen months, apprehend the Irish refinery would, at the duty of 5*s.* 10¼*d.* be ruined in that interval. I did all in my power to explain away this objection, in which I was very fully and ably assisted by Mr. Beresford, who maintained the propriety of the resolutions agreed to by the committee, upon the ground of a direct import immediately taking place, and opposed the re-commitment with great firmness. The Attorney-General also supported Government with great zeal, as did Mr. Conolly. Mr. Foster, finding the question for the re-committal would be carried, was of opinion we should bring the duty lower in the committee if we went into it before we were beat on the question of re-committal than after, he therefore spoke in favour of it, but declared that if the direct import could take place, the duties laid by the committee would be fully adequate; and in explaining the reasons of his conduct to-day to my Lord Lieutenant, he stated, that seeing from the turn of the debate the re-committal must be carried by a great majority, and believing many members would vote for it, who would not vote for altering the duty, he thought it best not to

complicate one question with the other, lest those who should be for the re-committal should appear pledged to alter the duty.

You will be less surprised at the result of this question, when I inform you that three Commissioners of His Majesty's Revenue, Sir Hercules Langrishe, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Townshend, with most of Lord Shannon's and Lord Ely's friends were for the re-committal.

The truth is, that a real and general alarm took place on this occasion; a non-importation agreement was proposed by many merchants, who are usually very moderate; and at a meeting of the merchants of this city yesterday, amongst whom were many persons not usually at such meetings, the enclosed resolutions were entered into.

Upon the examination of the sugar-bakers and grocers before the Committee of Ways and Means, the duty proposed by the former was 2*l.* 0*s.* 11½*d.*; and, by the latter, who are very anxious to preserve the imports of refined sugars from Great Britain, so high as 9*s.* 2*d.*; the conduct of the House of Commons upon so low a duty as 5*s.* 10½*d.* being proposed, will therefore appear the less extraordinary, especially as it is the general opinion that the benefit of the plantation trade, granted by Great Britain, depends much on the preservation of the Irish refinery, which it was asserted, and is generally believed, the imposition of a low duty on British refined sugars, before the direct import takes place, would entirely destroy,

I have the honour to be, &c.

RICHARD HERON.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, May 26, 1780.

MY LORD,

I have the honour of enclosing to your Lordship a printed copy of the British Act now in force "for Punishment of Mutiny, and Desertion, and for the better payment of the Army and their Quarters," with such alterations made therein as, together with certain written clauses also herewith transmitted, make the Heads of a Bill for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for

the Regulation of the Army, which were presented yesterday in the House of Commons here by Mr. Bushe, and were ordered by them to be committed for this day. These Heads of a Bill are drawn in a form very different from that to which endeavours will be used to have them shaped, and no possible exertion has been, or shall be omitted, to render them such as his Majesty's Ministers may think admissible, though the success must be precarious.

The most difficult and critical task will be the modelling of the first clause; wherefore it was proposed to gain time for consideration of that point: and accordingly the debate upon the Heads of the Bill is postponed till Monday. Your Lordship may be satisfied that the intermediate time shall be employed to the best advantage for his Majesty's service.

I have, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, June 2, 1780.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to send your Lordship herewith a copy of the "Heads of a Bill for the better accommodation and regulation of his Majesty's Army in this Kingdom," which were reported this day in the House of Commons, and ordered to be presented to me, that the same may be transmitted into Great Britain in due form, to which Sir Richard Heron gave his negative.

The gentlemen who assisted in framing these Heads of a Bill as they now stand, professed to have done it with a studied attention to avoid every expression which might be offensive to Great Britain, or directly apply to á presumption that the British Mutiny Act is of no validity in this House.

My former dispatches have so fully stated to your Lordship the universal opinion that some law to this purpose is absolutely necessary to be passed here, that it is needless for me to enlarge upon the subject.

As it is apprehended that the tranquillity of this kingdom, and the existence of his Majesty's army in Ireland, may in some degree depend upon the event of this Bill, your Lordship will

not wonder at any anxiety to know his Majesty's pleasure respecting my future conduct, with as much expedition as the consideration due to so important a subject can possibly admit. Your Lordship has already been informed that my being able to resist it effectually in the Council, is extremely doubtful.

I have the honour, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

SIR RICHARD HERON TO SIR STANIER PORTEN.

Dublin Castle, 13th June, 1780.

SIR,

I am directed, by my Lord Lieutenant, to acquaint you, for the information of Lord Hillsborough, of the proceedings of the journeymen manufacturers of this city, in respect to the "heads of a Bill to prevent combinations, and for the further encouragement of trade," which were brought into Parliament this Session by Sir Lucius O'Brien, and having passed the House of Commons, were ordered up to be presented to my Lord Lieutenant on the 8th instant.

Some parts of this Bill were much complained of by the journeymen manufacturers, who were heard by counsel at the bar of the House against it. But their objections being over-ruled, it has occasioned great discontent among them.

It was rumoured yesterday, that the whole body of these people intended to rise; and in the evening the Lord Mayor waited on me at the House of Commons, and acquainted me he had received information that they intended to proceed this morning to the Castle in a body, and present a petition to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, against the Bill; and his Lordship requested, that as it was impossible to foresee the consequences of such a proceeding, the military might be prepared and stationed in such a manner as to prevent any violence being committed. Orders were accordingly given, that a detachment of 400 infantry, and a squadron of horse, from the barracks, should be stationed this morning in the Castle-yard, and proper guards were directed to be placed in other parts of the town.

This morning the manufacturers assembled in great numbers in the Phœnix Park, from whence, about ten o'clock, three of

their body came to me, and informed me, that they had no design whatever of violence, but only intended, in a legal manner, to petition against the Bill, and would either bring up their petition by the body of the manufacturers, or by a small number of three or four; and upon my acquainting them that their petition should be laid before the Privy Council, they expressed their satisfaction.

The people, after signing their petition, dispersed. They had no arms; their behaviour is represented to have been very peaceable; and there is great reason to believe that no violent measure will be attempted.

The magistrates have acted, upon the occasion, with great firmness and propriety; and the volunteer societies assembled in order to assist in preserving the public peace. Since writing the above, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs have acquainted me the journeymen have all quietly returned to their houses, and that they have no further apprehensions of violence whatever. And orders have been accordingly given for reducing the additional guards.

This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Foster, Mrs. Foster being in London at this time, he is going thither for a few days.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RICH. HERON.

LORD BUCKINGHAM TO LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, 11*th July*, 1780.

MY LORD,

The last post brought me your Lordship's favour of the 5th, with the Extraordinary Gazette. It makes me peculiarly happy to have such repeated opportunities of thanking you for the early communication of such important and fortunate events. As to the affairs of this kingdom, it is very unnecessary for me to recommend to your Lordship's sound judgment and discretion the expediency of temporising, as far as with propriety may be, with respect to the important objects at this time under the consideration of his Majesty's Cabinet. You are the best judge how far their determination may lead to the bringing forward some questions of moment at the close of the Session; and will conse-

quently decide how far it will be advisable for the English Government to request such members of the Irish House of Commons as are in England to come over by the 24th.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

P.S. It is very necessary for me to know, as early as possible, the measures adopted, as well in the instance of the Sugar, as of the Army Bill. Sir Richard Heron will state to Sir Stanier Porten the transactions of yesterday in the House of Lords. My best endeavours will be exerted, that the evil intentions of the two noble Lords may be properly met.

SIR RICHARD HERON TO SIR STANIER PORTEN.

Dublin Castle, 11th July, 1780.

SIR,

I am directed, by my Lord Lieutenant, to acquaint you, for the information of Lord Hillsborough, that on the meeting of the House of Lords yesterday, in pursuance of their last adjournment, Lord Mountnorris moved for an address to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, to represent to his Majesty the defenceless state of this country, as to the trade and commerce of it, and to desire such ships of war might be sent as were necessary for its defence. After some debate, his Lordship was prevailed upon to withdraw his motion, and Lord Clifden moved the question of adjournment; this was opposed by Lord Carysfort, who said he was prepared to move the heads of a Bill, but, after some debate, in which the Archbishop of Cashel took an active part, Lord Clifden's motion was carried, and the House adjourned to the 25th.

Lord Mountnorris gave notice, that immediately after the recess he should bring forward the question, respecting the jurisdiction of the House of Lords of Ireland to determine appeals from the Courts of Justice in this kingdom. And it was imagined that the purport of Lord Carysfort's intended Bill is to confirm the titles of Irish estates, held under British Acts of Parliament.

As the questions are of a very improper tendency, his Excellency has further directed me to inform you, for Lord Hillsborough's information, that no exertion in his power shall be

wanting to prevent any inconvenience arising from their being agitated. I am also directed by his Excellency to inclose you an extract of a letter from the High Sheriff of Donegall, which was this day given to the Lord Chancellor by Mr. Nesbitt, a gentleman of consideration in that county, relative to five privateers of the enemy, now cruising on that coast, which you will be pleased to lay before Lord Hillsborough.

If the Sugar Bill shall be altered, or the Mutiny Bill shall not be returned, or be materially altered, we shall want all the assistance we can obtain in the House of Commons, so that if there are any Irish Members in England, whose attendance Lord Hillsborough could procure, it would be very useful.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RICH. HERON.

LORD BUCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, 13th July, 1780.

MY LORD,

It is not in my power to advance, that there may not be many persons in this kingdom, who, from different principles, concur in a wish to perplex his Majesty's Government. Yet it appears very evident to me, that this spirit does not by any means go to that extent which hints from England, induce me to suppose has been generally conceived there. Let me therefore hope that Administration will not despair of seeing hereafter, when the present fermentation subsides, the affairs of Ireland settled to their satisfaction, and that they will studiously avoid manifesting any symptoms of a contrary impression, which, productive possibly of disagreeable consequences, can have no materially useful operation.

I wish you joy of a happy close of a most fatiguing and most anxious Session. The wording of his Majesty's speech was most critically judicious, and, with the advantage of being delivered by him, cannot but have made that impression which the times call for.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

SIR RICHARD HERON TO SIR STANIER PORTEN.

Dublin Castle, 14th Aug. 1780.

SIR,

I am to acquaint you, by the directions of my Lord Lieutenant, for the information of Lord Hillsborough, that, upon the alterations of the Sugar Bill being reported this day, the order for the Bill being read a second time was discharged, and, on the principle of its being an altered Money Bill, it was rejected without opposition. Mr. Foster then presented new heads of a Bill for granting duties on sugar, which were received, read, and committed for to-morrow, when the expediency of adopting the duties, inserted by the British Privy Council in the rejected Bill, will be debated.

I am in great hopes that all opposition to this measure will be ineffectual, and that the new Bill will be transmitted in the form most agreeable to his Majesty's Ministers. The Corn, Linen, Tobacco, and Army Bills, were also read a second time; the three former were committed for to-morrow. The Committee on the latter, as I informed you in my letter of the 12th, is postponed to Wednesday.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RICH. HERON.

LORD BUCKINGHAM TO EARL HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, 16th Aug. 1780.

MY LORD,

Your Lordship will have received an account of what has passed in Parliament here, since the return of the Bills by Sir Richard Heron's letter to Sir Stanier Porten, written by my directions for your Lordship's information. I have now the pleasure to acquaint your Lordship, that in the Committee yesterday, upon the heads of the new Sugar Bill, the duty of 9*s.* $2\frac{8}{12}$*d.*, which was adopted by the British Privy Council, was carried by 119 to 88.

The debate on this question lasted till nine o'clock; and I should deem myself unpardonable, were I not to mention the

very honourable manner in which Government was supported by Mr. Beresford, Sir Lucius O'Brien, Sir Hercules Langrishe, Mr. Mason, Mr. Parnel, and the Prime Serjeant. Mr. Foster, who, as Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, should have been in the chair, desired the Solicitor General to take his place, that he might be at liberty to move and support the duty of 9*s*. $2\frac{1}{12}d$., in which he exerted himself with particular ability and zeal; and I am informed that the very warm and convincing manner with which he urged the question, had uncommon influence on the House.

The duty of 5*s*. $6\frac{10}{12}d$. upon bastard sugars was carried without opposition; but on the Committee having reported, a new debate arose, whether the Report should be then received.

It is imagined that this opposition was made with an intent to put off the decision of the Army Bill, committed for this day; but after a debate, till near twelve o'clock, the question for the Report being then received, was immediately carried, without a division.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

SIR R. HERON TO SIR STANIER PORTEN.

Dublin Castle, 19*th Aug.* 1780.

SIR,

I am commanded by my Lord Lieutenant to send you, for the information of Lord Hillsborough, the enclosed Hibernian journal, printed yesterday, containing the Resolutions entered into at a meeting of the merchants' corps of volunteers assembled at the Royal Exchange, on Thursday, relative to the Sugar Bill and the Army Bill, which had passed the House of Commons.

Mr. Peter Digges Latouche, whose name appears as Chairman of the meeting, is not one of the partners of the bank of Messrs. Latouche, but only a clerk in their office. I am informed that the meeting was held at an early hour, that the number present was very small, and that the Resolutions were framed at the instigation of some sugar bakers.

In the "Freeman's Journal" of this day, herewith enclosed,

you will also observe some articles fully calling for animadversion.

A consultation of the King's law servants is to be had to-morrow, to consider what may be proper to be done upon the occasion.

Respectable Members of Parliament, of all denominations, highly disapprove of this licentiousness; and indeed the execration of such pernicious attempts to disturb the public tranquillity is very great.

The House of Commons is adjourned only till Monday. My Lord Lieutenant, this afternoon, gave the Royal Assent to such Bills as were ready, of which his Excellency has sent a list to Lord Hillsborough; the Bill now laying before the House of Lords for granting a bounty upon linens is adjourned to Thursday. The Tenants Bill passed that House this evening, by a majority of one voice. The passing of this Bill is deemed a fortunate event for the peace of the country, many persons having affected to treat the opposition to it as a measure of Government, and endeavoured to raise, upon that foundation, a general spirit of discontent.

No accounts have been received from the country of the like discontent, at these Bills in any other parts.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. Heron.

LORD BUCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, 23rd Aug. 1780.

My Lord,

Yesterday evening, in consequence of an anonymous advertisement in the "Freeman's Journal" (which I enclosed to your Lordship in my letter of the 19th, a number of persons assembled in the Music Hall, in Fishamble Street, where, after some debate, it was resolved to call upon the Sheriffs to convene a meeting of the citizens at large, in order to consider (as is supposed) the propriety of a non-importation agreement. I do not find that any merchants of credit or consideration were present at

the meeting, and am rather inclined to think that the Sheriffs will refuse to comply with the Requisition.

I flatter myself it is unnecessary to add, that every attention will be given to baffle any attempt to insult the Legislature or disturb the public tranquillity.

I have the honour, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

SIR RICHARD HERON TO SIR STANIER PORTEN.

Dublin Castle, 6th Sept. 1780.

SIR,

I enclose to you herewith, by command of my Lord Lieutenant, for Lord Hillsborough's information, an Hibernian journal of this day's date, in the fourth page of which you will find under the article of Dublin, a paragraph containing the proceedings at a meeting of citizens, held at the Tholsel yesterday, in consequence of a requisition made to the Sheriffs of the City of Dublin for that purpose.

I am to acquaint you, that the Requisition was very much and very generally disapproved, and that the Sheriffs reluctantly agreed, after a long delay, to call the meeting, the majority of which consisted of inferior citizens of the most factious spirit. The first resolution for a general non-importation agreement, will (as I hope) be defeated by a counter agreement, which the friends of Government, and the sober part of the citizens, intend to propose. The second Resolution for a petition to the King to dissolve the Irish Parliament is treated as ridiculous; and the third, for thanking the volunteers, is of no consequence. Every proper measure is taken by Government to render ineffectual the designs of the promoters of these Resolutions.

I have the honour to be, &c.

RICH. HERON.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, 7th Oct. 1780.

My Lord,

Whenever his Majesty's instructions is signified to me, it is my duty to use every exertion for the immediate execution of the same. The orders, therefore, have been given, that the three regiments be in readiness to embark as soon as possible; but my unfeigned attachment to his Majesty, and my zeal to attend, to the utmost of my ability, in every instance, to his tranquillity, and that of the public, obliges me to mention, that it appears to me a measure of the most serious cast. The detailing to your Lordship the situation of this country would be giving you superfluous trouble; and I almost think that you yourself will apprehend some serious consequences, from the removing so great a force from hence without an immediate supply. For as to the three regiments destined to replace them, they can consist of little more than commissioned and non-commissioned officers; and, as far as may be presumed, from the recruiting of the other corps, it may take a very long time indeed to complete them; nor will they, from obvious reasons, be composed of men upon whom the same dependence may be had, in the unfortunate chance of any civil commotion, as upon those who are to be withdrawn. The Commander-in-Chief, who has just been with me, rather leads than follows me in these opinions. The exigency of the times may justify the risking any consequences that may happen; and it is therefore, with the most respectful deference, that I presume to state those sentiments which occur.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Buckingham.

THE LORD LIEUTENANT TO LORD NORTH.

Dublin Castle, 18th Oct. 1780.

My Lord,

With my letter to your Lordship of the 1st of June, 1779, I laid before you a plan for the better management of the revenue of this kingdom, the principal part of which consisted in the appointment of a first commissioner, who should be, in a more especial manner, responsible to Government for the conduct of bnsiness at that Board; but other parts of that plan, which then appeared to me eligible, do now, upon mature consideration of the present political state of this kingdom, seem to be inexpedient for the service of his Majesty's Government, and liable to so many objections from the powerful interest of the country, that I question much whether they could at this time be carried into effect, without manifest prejudice to the necessary influence of Administration. I shall not, therefore, propose to alter the method of official communication between Government and the Revenue Board, nor to change from the hands of Government any part of the patronage of offices in the Revenue, but I shall confine myself to recommend to your Lordship, that the Commissioner who shall be named first in the new patent, appointing Commissioners of the Revenue, shall be placed on the establishment as First Commissioner, that he be expected to be present at the decision of every matter of importance, so that no such affairs be transacted without his knowledge, and that he be always prepared to render an account of the proceedings of that Board, and to give information and advice to Government, where it may be necessary.

By a steady observance of instructions, which shall be given to the Commissioners for this purpose, I expect to procure a constant attendance, a regular dispatch, and an uniformity in the conduct of the business, which must give weight and efficacy to the orders of the Board, and establish a subordination through all ranks in the Revenue, which I hope will effect a full and equal collection of his Majesty's Revenue. I need not observe to your Lordship, that in order to accomplish this, it will be re-

quisite that the First Commissioner be a gentleman of ability, experience, and knowledge in the Revenue business; and as Mr. Beresford, in consequence of Lord Naas's retiring from business, will remain the senior Commissioner, and confessedly possesses those qualifications which I have mentioned, it naturally follows, that he should be the person named on the establishment, as First Commissioner.

I must further submit to your Lordship my opinion, that as this will induce a constant attendance, and very much additional trouble to Mr. Beresford, with a considderable degree of especial responsibility to Government, he should be allowed an additional salary of one thousand pounds a year.

It is not intended that any alteration should be made in the powers of the patent, which are constituted under the law, and could not therefore be changed without an Act of Parliament for the purpose. The only alteration necessary in the patent will be the appointing the salary of two thousand pounds per annum in the whole to Mr. Beresford. Every other matter, which I suggested coming within the power of arrangement here, I will see carried into execution, if your Lordship shall concur with me in opinion, and that what I here propose shall be honoured with his Majesty's approbation.

I do therefore desire your Lordship will lay this my recommendation before his Majesty, that I may receive the royal pleasure thereupon.

I have the honour, &c.
BUCKINGHAM.

P.S. I herewith send you copies of the opinions given by several gentlemen, whom I consulted upon this measure. I applied to the Duke of Leinster, but have not yet received his Grace's answer. Lord Ely has expressed his approbation personally to Mr. Beresford, in very strong terms.

The copies, sent as above mentioned, were of the following persons' letters, viz.

The Chancellor,	The Speaker,
Earl of Tyrone,	Attorney-General,
Earl of Shannon,	Mr. Conolly.

LORD BUCKINGHAM TO THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

Dublin Castle, Dec. 20, 1779.

My Lords,

The Commissioners of His Majesty's Revenue here having laid before me a Representation of the 25th past, setting forth, that Mr. George L'Estrange, Clerk to the Collector of this port, having been summoned to attend the House of Commons on Saturday the 20th of November last, during his absence, Alderman James Horan went to the Collector's Office, to tender an entry for one hundred yards of old drapery, made of Irish wool, and Irish manufacture, to be shipped on board the Sarah Hans Madsemalle for Rotterdam.

That the objection to the passing this entry, as being contrary to the British Act of the 10th and 11th of William III. and some arguments as to the propriety of the measure being offered to Mr. Horan's consideration, he was dissuaded from insisting upon tendering his entry, which, however, he left in the Office, with the amount of the duty, until he should consult his friends; and on Monday morning the 22nd, past, he went again to the Collector's Office, and told the Collector's clerk that he would not, at that time, insist on the entry being passed, but that he did not mean to give up the point. That it appears to them that this proceeding was not imagined solely by the Alderman, but that it was concerted in order to bring forward the question, how far a British law extends to the prohibition of the exportation of Irish manufacture to foreign countries; and as the matter may possibly be resumed, and it is a question of no small importance to the state, they have thought it their duty to represent to me this transaction.

And I have the honor of inclosing herewith to your Lordship the said Representation, and submit the same to your Lordship's consideration.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Buckingham.

LORD HILLSBOROUGH TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

St. James's, 2nd Dec. 1780.

My Lord,

I have received and laid before the King your Excellency's letter of the 21st of last month, in which you are pleased to mention to me your having called upon the Law Officers of the Crown to prosecute the printers and publishers of certain libellous paragraphs in the newspaper, pursuant to the addresses of both Houses of Parliament, and that you expect to hear from the Attorney-General upon the subject.

I had indeed concluded, from having heard nothing further of the prosecutions, that your Excellency, in consequence of the part the Recorder took in the House of Commons, soon after the Address was voted (intelligence of which I received from a private hand) had come to a resolution to decline any proceeding upon it; and if your Excellency had any prudential considerations of weight sufficient to induce you to postpone an immediate attention to the Addresses, I cannot but suppose that the weight of those considerations must be increased by so long a delay. I do not mean, however, to give any opinion of what is right to be done in this matter, as your Excellency, who is on the spot, must be the best judge of what will most effectually promote the public service.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Hillsborough.

LORD BUCKINGHAM TO EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH.

Dublin Castle, 11th Dec. 1780.

My Lord,

I inclose herewith to your Lordship an answer which I have received from his Majesty's Attorney-General of this kingdom, in consequence of my letter alluded to in my dispatch of the 21st of last month, to which answer I beg leave to refer your Lordship, as well as to my letter of the 1st of September last.

The idea of courting popular favour, or avoiding their resent-

ment, so far as personally may affect myself, will never influence my conduct. Perhaps it was not necessary to insinuate this, as the candour of his Majesty's Ministers will incline them to do me justice.

As far as my opinion may have weight in the future conduct of this business, I certainly should not recommend, without fresh provocation, that the administration of my successor should commence with bringing forward a measure of that nature.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BUCKINGHAM.

MR. SCOTT TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

In obedience to your Excellency's commands, signified by Mr. Sackville Hamilton's letter, dated the 21st of November last stating (that though your Excellency had not heard officially upon the subject, you had reason to believe that it had been thought in England that you were remiss with respect to the prosecutions of printers and publishers of certain libellous paragraphs in the newspapers of this city, and desiring that I would inform your Excellency of the state of that business, in order for your Excellency's communicating the same to his Majesty's Ministers), I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that recently after I had been furnished with copies of the resolutions of the Lords and Commons relative to this subject, together with your Excellency's order in consequence thereof, a confidential meeting was had before the end of the last Sessions of Parliament, at Sir Richard Heron's apartments, where it was thought that it would be imprudent, at the close of the Sessions, to hazard an interruption to the quiet with which the Parliament seemed disposed to rise, by arresting, at that time, the printers and publishers of the papers complained of; and a great deal having been said in Parliament, and in the public prints, to apologize for what was stated as a giddy and puerile publication, it was thought expedient, at the above meeting, that no legal steps should be taken against those persons until the approach of Term; and that, in the mean time, attention should be paid to the turn which future publications, and the general voice, should

take as the best guides for future conduct. In the course of the last long vacation, the language of those offensive publications, and the spirit which suggested them, seemed gradually to slacken or alter. And the reasons which appeared to direct a suspension of the prosecution, collected new strength, not only by the subject dying away, but by a material event, which was disclosed in the eve of the last Term, it having been then publicly announced that your Excellency was to be speedily succeeded in the government of this kingdom by Lord Carlisle. I believe it occurred to those who thought seriously upon this subject, that at the close of one administration, and the opening of another, the commencing a prosecution against printers and publishers of paragraphs absolutely forgotten, might tend to exasperate the public in general, and especially a numerous body of armed volunteers, who were principally the subject of those paragraphs, and, instead of contributing to peace and good order, might possibly have a direct contrary effect; which opinion, so far as the matter depends upon opinion or discretion, as one, I do not scruple to avow myself of, matters have therefore rested in the same situation which they stood at the close of the last Session, with regard to this subject, in the prosecution of which no remissness whatever, as far as I can presume to judge, can be attributed to your Excellency; those publications have been followed by no consequences destructive to the peace or quiet of the public, and seem to be extinguished in their own insignificance. However, my Lord, I beg leave to inform your Excellency, that so far as my official duty was concerned, I have collected such materials for the prosecution as the Crown Solicitor was able to procure, and am prepared to file informations as Attorney-General, the first day of next Term, or to take any other legal step previous thereto which shall be thought necessary, as soon as I shall receive, either from your Excellency or your successor, any further direction for that purpose. All which is humbly submitted to your Excellency, as my Report. Dated this 11th day of December, 1780.

JOHN SCOTT.

III.

RESOLUTIONS AND ADDRESSES VOTED BY THE VOLUNTEERS.

The Officers of the Volunteer Corps, assembled at L. Derry, August 11, 1780, the Right Hon. Lord ERNE in the Chair.

Resolved,—That, in order to preserve and invigorate the great principle by which we have been united as patriots and soldiers, and to advance our military knowledge to still farther degrees of improvement, it be warmly recommended to the several battalions, which compose the brigades, to have frequent meetings.

Resolved,—That, for the same important end, a general review, in the course of next summer, is indispensably necessary.

Resolved,—That a meeting be held at L. Derry on the first Thursday of May next, of the several deputies of such companies as approve of the above resolution, in order to fix the time and place of the review, and to elect a Reviewing General and Commanding Officer.

Resolved,—That the thanks of this meeting be returned to the privates of the Volunteer Corps, for their respectable performance in the field, and the decency and very great regularity of conduct observed by them during their stay in Derry.

Resolved,—That we return our sincere and very grateful acknowledgments to the inhabitants of L. Derry, for the comfortable accommodations provided for the volunteer army, and the police, obliging attention with which they treated them during the time of the review.

To the Right Hon. the EARL of CHARLEMONT.

My Lord,

To secure this country from the calamities of foreign invasion, and to preserve domestic peace, a number of her free born sons, at a recent period, voluntarily united, in a military capacity, and acquired a knowledge of the use of arms. From small begin-

nings these associations made a rapid progress, which was greatly increased by the grand and unexpected prospect which opened to their view. When it was discovered that this military spirit was likely to have an auspicious influence on our civil and commercial privileges, those who before were only mere spectators, catched the patriotic flame, and became emulous to have their names enrolled as the friends of their country. Most cheerfully we, in this part of the island, engaged with our virtuous fellow-citizens in this glorious cause.

At a meeting of officers, assembled in this city, for the purpose of a general review, in order to support the principles which induced us to associate, we turned our eyes to your Lordship, as a nobleman most proper to be chosen our Reviewing General, whose uniform and spirited attachment to the interests of Ireland has intitled you, from all her sincere friends, to distinguished esteem and approbation. In circumstances more than sufficient to excuse you from gratifying our desire, with that generous disinterested zeal for the common cause, by which your character has been always distinguished, you were so obliging as to comply with our request. We are sensible, my Lord, of the honour you have done us; we feel it with the most respectful gratitude.

If, from the numerous avocations of civil life, and the short time employed in acquiring a knowledge of the military art, the troops which have passed before you in review are not yet, in this respect, quite accomplished, we beg leave to assure your Lordship, that they are ambitious to excel, and will persevere in their endeavours, until they are qualified, on any emergency, to acquit themselves with reputation and advantage to their country.

Your Lordship will permit us to embrace this opportunity of expressing our satisfaction in the advantages, political and commercial, which this kingdom has lately obtained. In a particular manner, we have beheld, with the highest pleasure, the almost unanimous declaration of our Representatives in Parliament, that we ought to be bound by no laws, except such as are or may be enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland. This principle, uniformly maintained by your Lordship in every capacity, more particularly as a Peer of the realm, we are de-

termined firmly to support; a principle which we hope, ere long, to see established on a solid and permanent foundation. Then, my Lord, shall our country be restored to that respectable rank which it ought to hold amidst the nations of Europe; every jealous sentiment of the policy of our sister island will give place to a cordial affection for her prosperity, and the glory of the British empire, and the inestimable blessings of equal and impartial liberty be transmitted to the latest posterity.

ERNE.

To the Officers assembled at Londonderry, August 11, 1780.

Gentlemen,

When your unsolicited goodness called me to the station which I have now enjoyed, I was too much flattered with the singular honour you did me, and too anxious to contribute all in my power towards the success and increase of the Military Associations, to recollect, as in any other cause I should have done, the many impediments that stood in my way. Neither have I had any reason to repent my temerity in undertaking a task to which I was every way unequal. Your goodness has pardoned my defects, and I have had the unspeakable pleasure of being eye witness to exertions of so extraordinary a nature, that to be credited they must have been seen; exertions which, as they are founded, not upon any occasional and transitory alarm, but upon the solid basis of sound principle and of true patriotism, cannot fail to be lasting, and must therefore add permanent strength, not only to this kingdom, but to the whole empire.

Reviews, such as those which I have lately with heart-felt satisfaction, beheld, useful as they are, from their tendency to complete your discipline, and to increase your numbers, have yet another most beneficial effect, by bringing such a body of armed subjects together, they give you a just confidence in yourselves; for it is impossible for men contemplating such a line of strength, not to entertain the most decided sentiments in favour of their liberty. For my own part, I freely declare, that had I not seen your array, and been witness to your successful efforts, I should not have had the same assurance in the possession of my rights

and privileges, which I now entertain, from this spectacle of national strength, and from the prospect of its continuance.

I most heartily concur with you in the satisfaction you express at the advantages, political and commercial, which this kingdom has lately obtained, and most particularly in your sentiment respecting the exclusive authority of the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland. It is by the frequent repeating and inculcating this important maxim, and by a constant, uniform, and unremitting conformity to it, in the conduct of every class of men throughout the nation, that constitutional freedom can alone be obtained and secured.

Permit me to return you my most sincere and warm acknowledgments, for the unmerited honours you have heaped upon me; and, with a gratitude still farther heightened by your kind address, to assure you, that I am, and ever shall be,

Gentlemen, your most obliged, faithful,
And obedient humble Servant,
CHARLEMONT.

IV.

ADDRESS OF VOLUNTEERS TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT, AND OFFERS OF SERVICE.

" May it please your Excellency,

" We, the Delegates from the several Volunteer Corps hereafter mentioned, being informed that the garrison of Dublin has (from the appearance of an hostile fleet off the southern coasts of this kingdom) received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march upon the shortest notice, do, by the direction of our several corps, offer their assistance to act in such manner as shall be thought necessary for the safety and protection of the kingdom."

To which his Excellency returned the following answer :—

" I have ever placed the most unbounded confidence in the loyalty and attachment of all his Majesty's subjects in this king-

dom to his Majesty's person and government; and I receive, with particular pleasure, these early and spirited offers of service, of which I shall think it my duty to avail myself in its fullest extent, if either the events of war or farther intelligence should make it expedient to have recourse to them."

County of Dublin Light Dragoons	Wm. Broome, major, John Latouche, captain.
Rathdown County Dublin Light Dragoons	J. T. Meddlicott, Emor North.
Union Light Dragoons	Robert Cornewall, capt.; Francis M'Annally.
Hibernian Light Dragoons	Joseph Deane, colonel.
Dublin Volunteers	Pat. King.
Lawyers' Artillery	Robert Johnston.
Lawyers' Corps	John Hunt, colonel: ward Stanley, Edward Hudson, captains.
Merchants' Volunteers	Nat. Hone, col.; Henry Gudgeon, major.
Liberty Volunteers	William Worthington.
Independent Dublin Volunteers	Henry Grattan, colonel; J. T. Ashenhurst.
Newcastle and Donore Union	Joseph Deane, colonel; John Verschoyle, major.
Coolock Independents	Richard M'Cormick, John Phepoe.
Goldsmiths' Corps	Lord Charlemont.
Trim Volunteers	Earl of Mornington.
Shinrone Volunteers	John Lloyd, colonel.
Moat ditto	George Glibben, colonel.
Barney ditto	And. Armstrong, colonel.
Dunkerrin ditto	J. F. Rollaston, colonel
Roscrea's Blues	W. P. Vaughan, colonel
Geashall Volunteers	Rane Cooke, major.
Kilkoursey Union	John Judge, colonel.
Edenderry Union	John Lucas, colonel.
Cloghan and Garrycastle Volunteers	T. Coghlan, colonel.
Mountain Rangers	T. Bernard, colonel.

Clara Independents	Andrew Armstrong, col.
Fishertown Rangers	John Warburton, colonel.
English Rangers	Th. Drought, colonel.
Frankfort and Balliboy Volunteers	T. Drought, colonel.
Leap Volunteers	John Darley, colonel.
Tullamore Light Horse	Thomas Norris.
Coolock Independents	Lord Trimbleston.
County Wicklow, one troop of light dragoons and five companies of infantry	Samuel Hayes, Esq.
Loughrea Independents	Mich. Daly, Esq.
Maryborough Corps	Math. Capan, Esq.
Independent Corps of County and City of Kilkenny	Clifden, G. P. Bushe, and Luke Roche, Esqrs.
First Iveagh Battalion, County Down	Sir Richard Johnston.
Montrath Cavalry and Infantry Corps	C. Henry Coote, Esq.
Edgeworthstown Corps	Wm. G. Newcomen, Esq.
Skreen Corps	J. Dillon, Esq.
Monaghan Volunteers	James Hamilton, Esq.
Newry Corps.	
The Artillery Company.	
Light Infantry Company.	
Battalion Company.	
Loughbrickland Loyalists.	
Ballymascanlan Rangers.	
Independent Light Dragoons of Ida	Thomas Fitzgerald, major.
Independent Light Dragoons and Curraghmore Rangers	Lord Tyrone, colonel.
Waterford Union Independent Light Dragoons	Ed. Lee, captain.
Waterford Independent Infantry	No. 1.—Henry Alcock, captain.
Ditto	No. 2.—Robert Shap. Carew, captain.
Ditto	No. 3.—Dennis Flyn, capt.
Ditto	No. 4.—H. W. Dobbin, captain.
Ditto	No. 5.—Wm. Barret, capt.

Royal Oak Independent Company	Corn. Bolton, col. James Kearney, captain.
Royal Oak Independent Light Company	Corn. Bolton, colonel.
Sixth Ulster Regiment	Hill Wilson and William F. Jones, Esqrs.
Troop of Light Dragoons of the Lower Iveagh Legion—Battalion of Infantry of ditto	John Knox, Esq. of Dromore.
Youghall Blues, Youghall Rangers, and the Union	Robert Uniacke, Esq.
Belfast Battalion	Stewart Banks, Esq. lieut. col.
Cork Corps	James Morrisson, lieut.-col.
True Blue Legion	John Bagwell, colonel.
Boyne Society	Eb. Morisson, major.
Aughrim Corps	Hen. Kirkman, lieut. col.
Cork Union	Ben. Bomfield, colonel.
Culloden Association	Tho. Barry, lieut. col.
Black Pool Association	Mich. ——, M.C.
Passage Union	John Bennett, colonel.
Enniskillen Volunteers	Wm. Chetwynd, colonel.
Cork Cavalry	R. Hare, captain.
Independent Cork Artillery	R. Moore, captain.
Bandon Boyne	John Butler, Esq.
Kilkenny Rangers and Kilkenny Volunteers	Lord Glerawley.
Castlewillan Volunteers	Rt. H. J. O'Neil.
First Royal Regt. of Volunteers	
Company of Artillery and Troop of Light Dragoons	
Donegal Company of Volunteers	Francis Shaw, capt.
Carrickfergus Volunteers	Capt. Delaware
Clanricarde and Barony Cavalry	Earl of Clanricarde.
Clanricarde, Galway, Rosborough, &c. &c. Infantry and Artillery	
Right Hon. Mr. Ponsonby	With offers of service.
Tyrone Battalion	Samuel Lawson, maj.
Kildare Corps	By D. of Leinster.

CAVALRY.	
Naas Rangers	Ri. Nevill.
Kilcullen Rangers	Thomas Carton.
Athy Rangers	S. Weldon.
Castledermot Light Dragoons	Rob. Power.
Curragh Rangers	Ponsonby Moore.
INFANTRY.	
Athy	R. Southwell.
Maynooth	Hugh Cane.
Kilcock	Sir F. Aylmer.
Castledown Union	Rt. Hon. Mr. Conolly
Kildare	Samuel Spencer.
Naas Infantry	J. Bourke.
Dungannon Battalion	Roger Duffen.
Springhill Union	Wm. Conyngham.
Ballinasloe and Aughrim Corps	N. Trench.
Killymoon and Barony of Strabane Battalion	James Stewart, Esq.
Carrick Volunteers	John Peyton, lieut. col.
Bowry of Loughinshillin Volunteers	J. Staples, colonel.
Loyal Limerick Volunteers	Thomas Smyth, colonel.
Royal Glin Artillery	John Fitzgerald, colonel.
Kilfinnan Cavalry and Infantry	S. Oliver, colonel.
County of Limerick Horse	Ed. Croker, major.
Connaught Rangers	Wm. Percivall, colonel commandant.
Small County Union	John Grady, colonel.
True Blue Cavalry and Infantry	Wm. Thos. Monsell, col.
Royal County Limerick Horse	Hugh Massey, colonel.
Connelloe Horse	William Odell, major.
Riddlestown Hussars	John Bateman, major.
County Limerick Fencibles	J. Thomas Waller, colonel.
Castleconnel and Killaloe Rangers	Ri. Bourke, col. com.
Adair Volunteers	W. Quin, colonel.
Loyal German Fusileers	Thos. Burgess, 2nd major.
Limerick Independents	C. Powell and W. Widenham, (Delegates.)
Rathkeale Volunteers	George Leake, colonel.
Aldborough Legion	Lord Aldborough.

Delegates for the several Corps.

First Ulster Regiment	Lord Charlemont colonel, Mr. Brownlow, lieut. col.	
Mitchelstown Light Dragoons	Lord Kingsborough.	
Tallow Armed Society	Wm. Car, captain.	
Independent Blues of Lismore	John Kelly, captain.	Ld. Tyrone.
Dungarvan Volunteers	Godfrey Greene, maj.	
Cappoquin Volunteers	John Keane, colonel.	
Carrick Union	Ed. Mandeville, capt.	
Rockingham Volunteers	H. Brownrigg, colonel,	
Glorious Memory Battalion	Thomas Jones, colonel. Mr. Conolly.	

END OF VOL. II.

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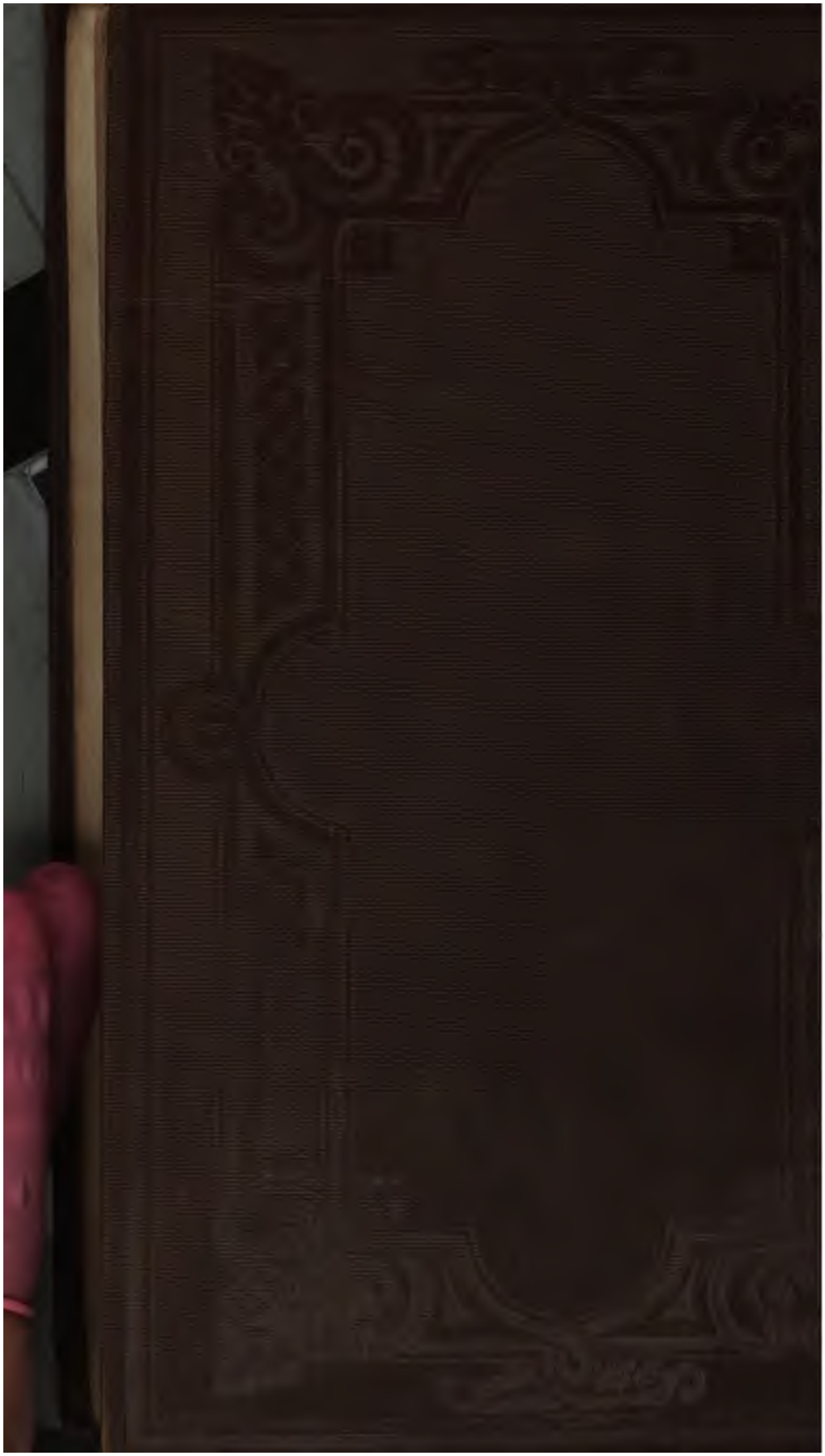
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